Rajput Architecture

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" Architecture is the work of Nations Ruskin

" The history that can be seen and touched is a strong and stimulating soul-food, entirely different from vague and wearying written history.' W. R. Lethaby

" Architecture has been called frozen music , not because of any mystical similarities between musical forms and architectural forms, or between musical rhythms and architectural rhythms but because in both great architecture and great music it is impossible to conceive of the existence of the matter apart from the form Talbot Hamlin

RAJPUT ARCHITECTURE

G. S. Ghurye

POPULAR
PRAKASHAN
BOMBAY

PRINTED IN INDIA

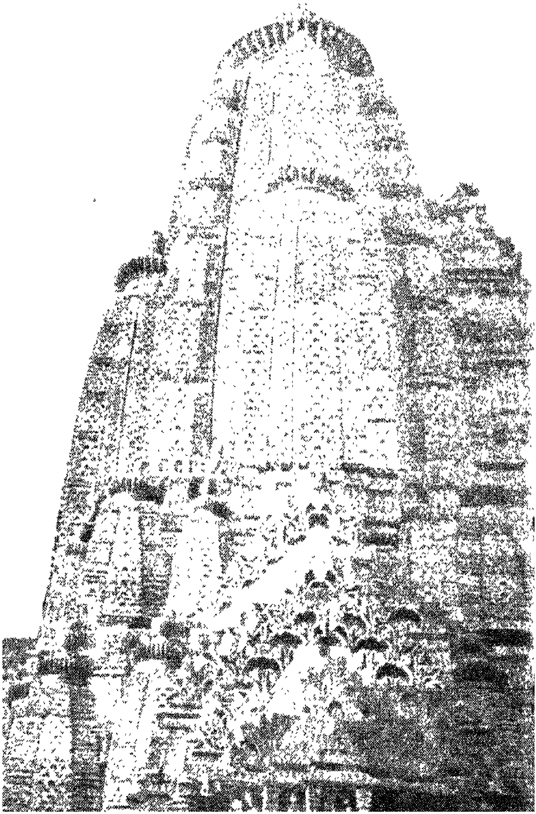
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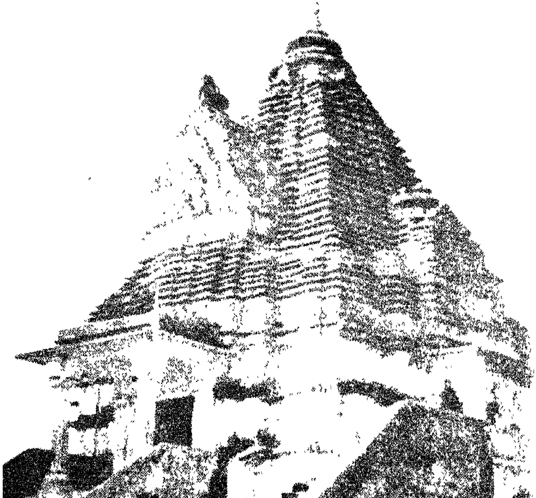
Dr. Anand K. Coomaraswamy



Preface

Forty years ago Dr. Anand Coomaraswamy taught us to recognise and appreciate a distinct school of Indian Painting called the Rajput School. This book endeavours to distinguish one school of Indian Architecture naming it the Rajput School. The dedication is made to the 'teacher'; and sincere thanks are offered to all those, institutions and individuals, whose names are shown against plates in the list of illustrations.

G. S. Ghurye



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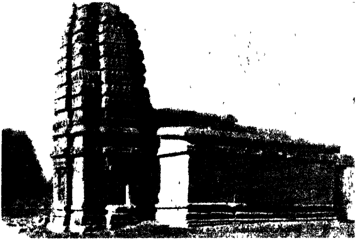
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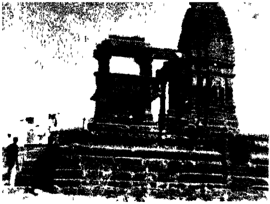
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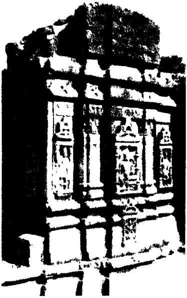


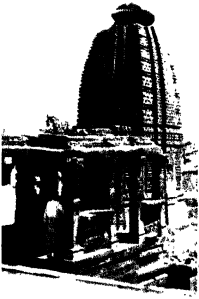
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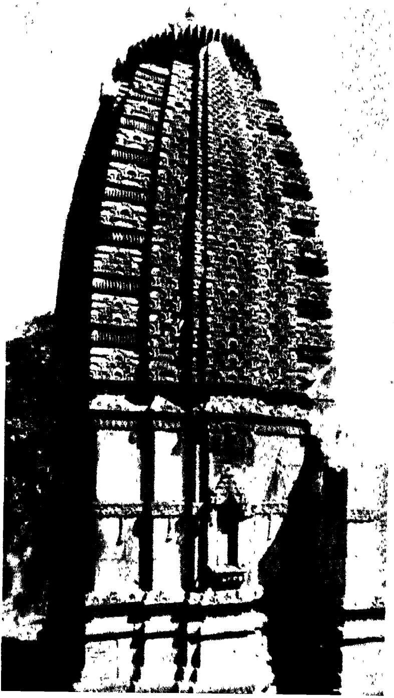
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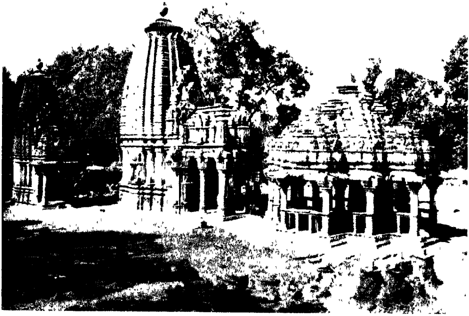


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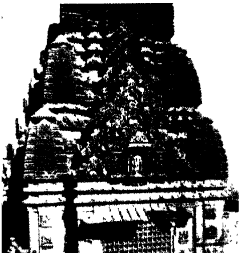


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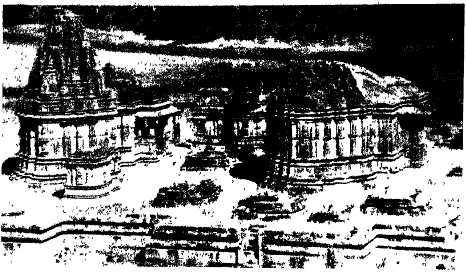
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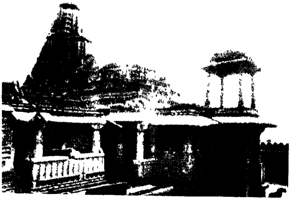


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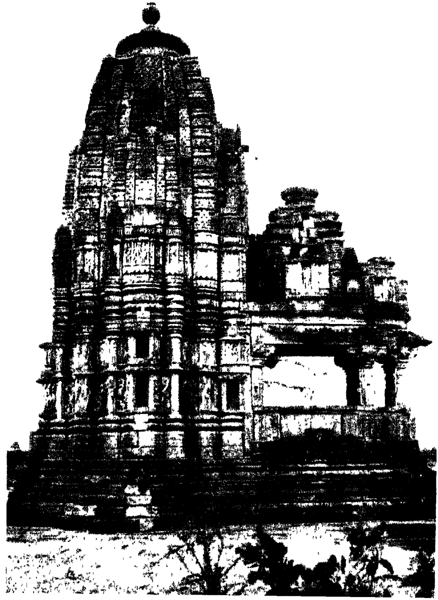


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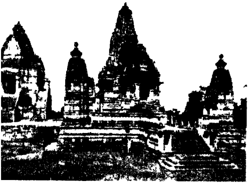
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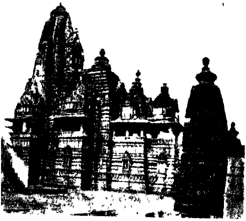
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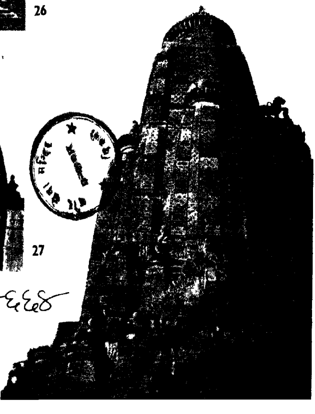
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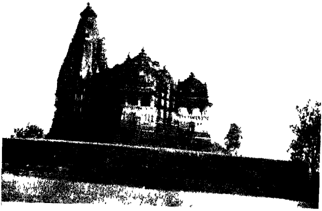
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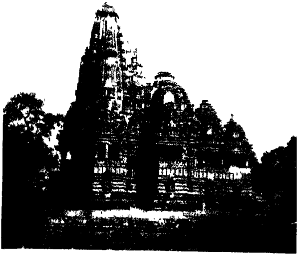
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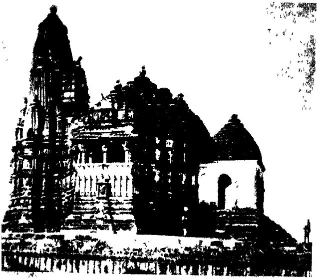
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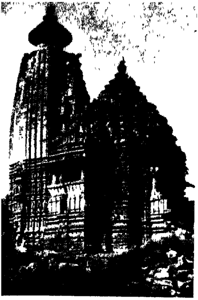


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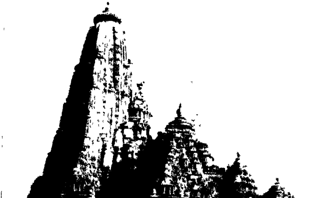


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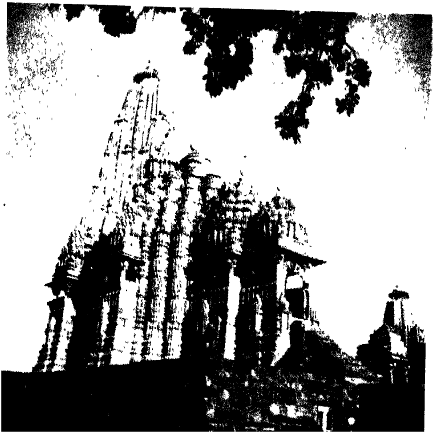


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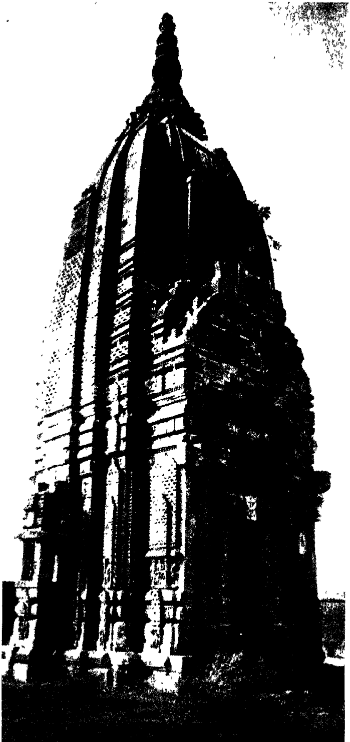
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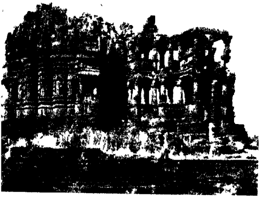


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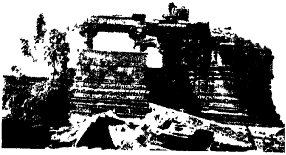
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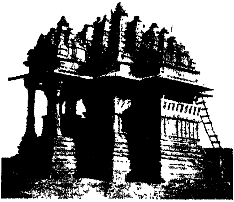
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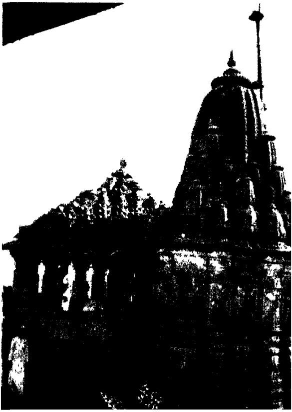


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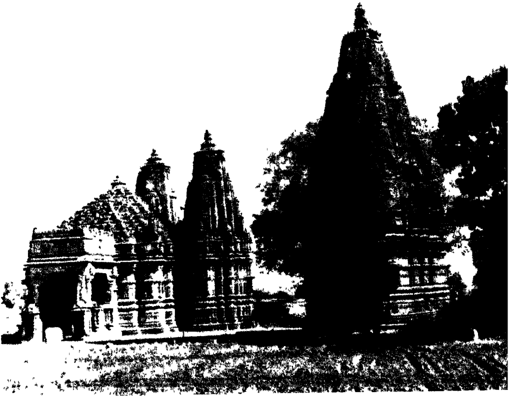
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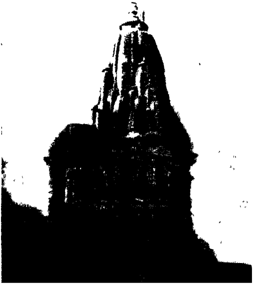




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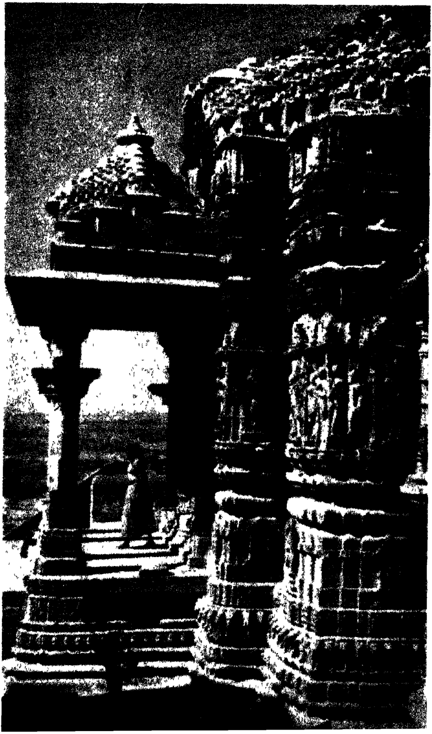
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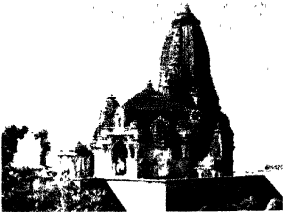
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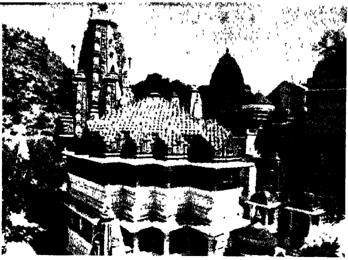




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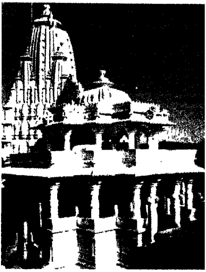


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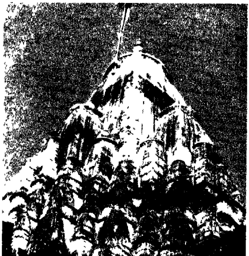


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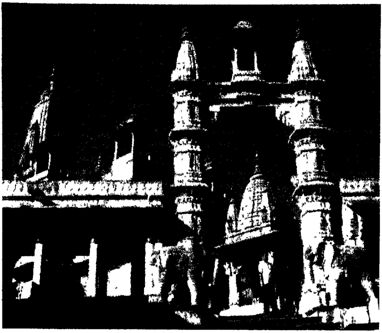
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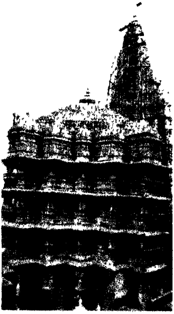
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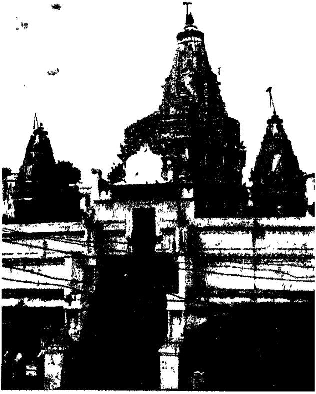
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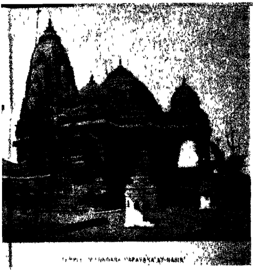
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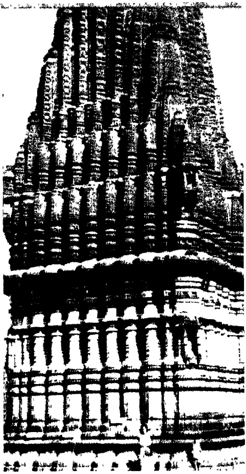
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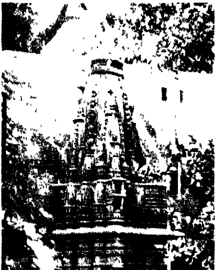


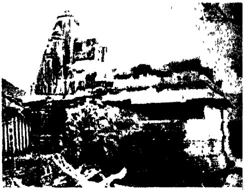
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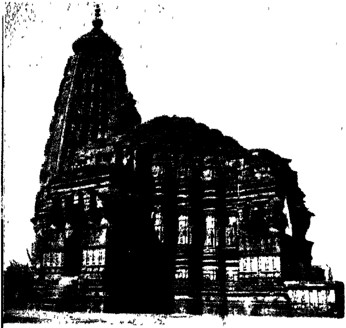


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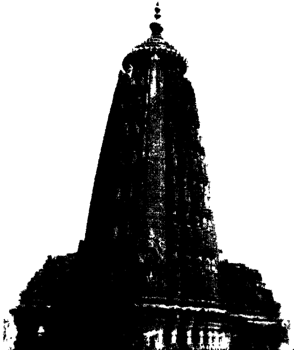


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62 Nilakanthesvara temple Udayapur
63 Nilakanthesvara temple Udayapur



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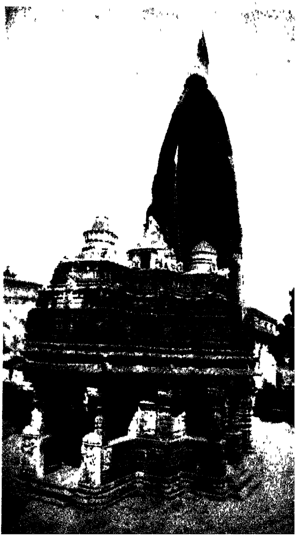


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66 Siddhesvara temple — Nemawar

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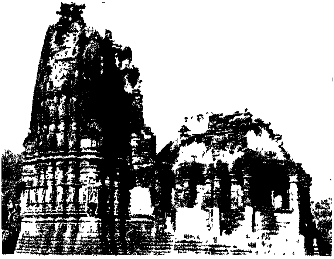


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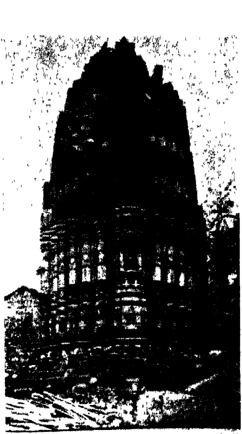
67

67 Mahanal temple	Menal
68 Siva temple	Ramgarh



68

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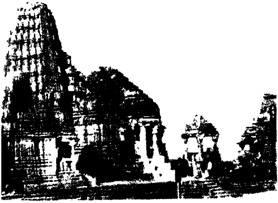
[illegible] Mahadeva, back view, Un

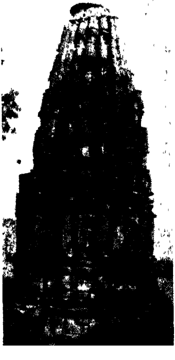
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69	Nilakanthesvara Mahadeva temple	Un
70	The temple at Sakegaon	Sakegaon
71	Gondesvara temple	Sinnar
72	Brahmanical temple	Kanorabari

71



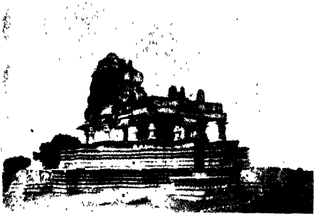


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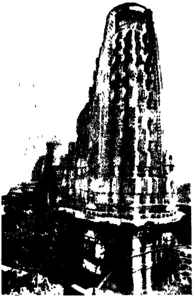


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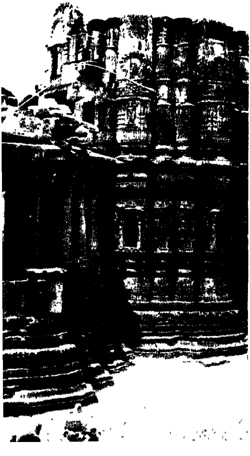
73	Amritesvara temple	Ratanvadi
74	Somesvara temple	Pillalmari
75.	Amritesvara temple	Singhanpur

75





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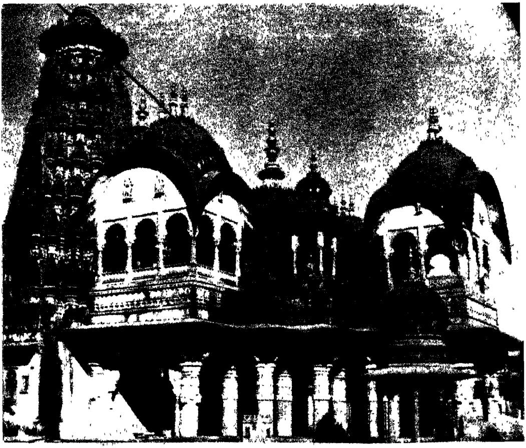


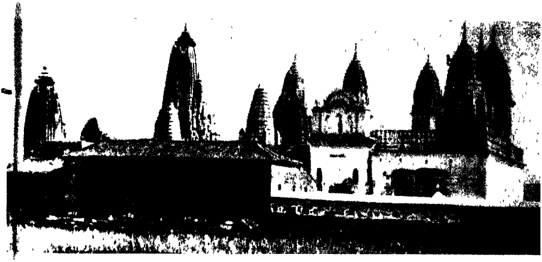
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76	Galtesvara temple	Anand
77.	Galtesvara temple	Anand

78 Sun temple Jhalawar

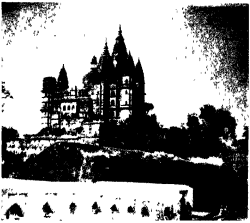
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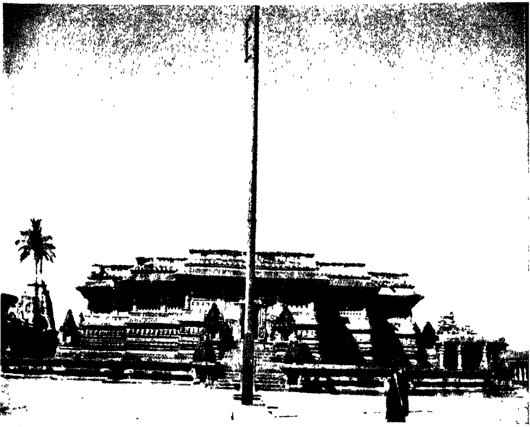
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79	Jaina temples	Khajuraho
80	Chaturbhuj temple	Orcha
81	Temple of Modern date	Tehri

81

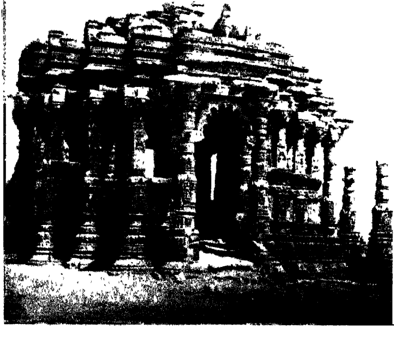




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82	Kesava Temple	Belur
83	'Mandapa' Gateway	Modhera

83

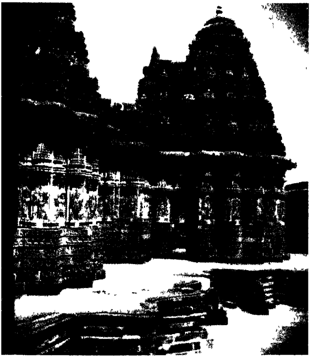


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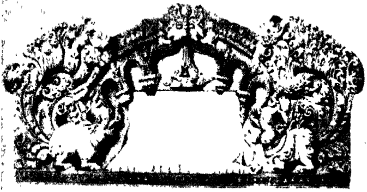
84 Interior Torana of Sas temple — Nagda
85 Kesava Temple — Somanathapur
86 Kirti stambha — Vadnagar

85





86



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87	Architrave of Dodda Basappa temple	Dambal
88	Architrave Aesvara temple	Sinnar
89	Gateway near Galagnatha temple	Aihole



89

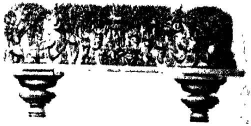


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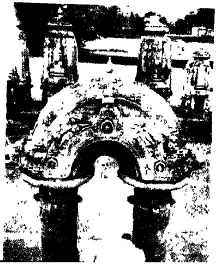


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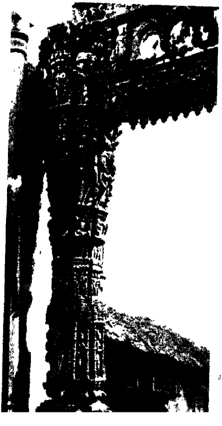
90 Temple Gateway	Terahi
91. Sas-Bahu Mandira	Nagda
92 Architrave of Siddharames-vara temple	Niralgi
93 Torana, Muktesvara temple	Bhubanesvara
94 "Swinging gate" pillar	Rewah



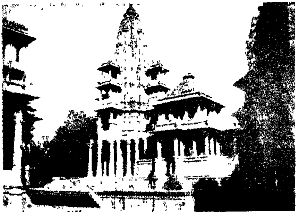
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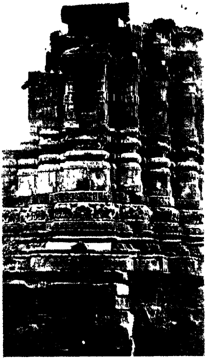


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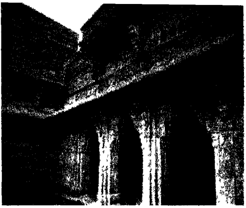
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95 Maharaja Ajit Singh's Chatri	Mandore,	Jodhpur
96 Jaswant Thara	Jodhpur	
97 Cenotaph of Rio Ganga	Mandore	Jodhpur
98 Rana Sangram Singh II's Chatri	Udaipur	



99

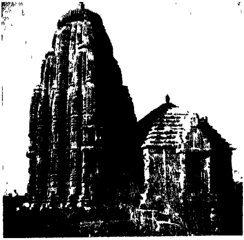


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99	Part of Man Singh s palace	Gwalior
100	Part of Man Singh's palace	Gwalior
101	Mandore Garden	Jodhpur

101





102



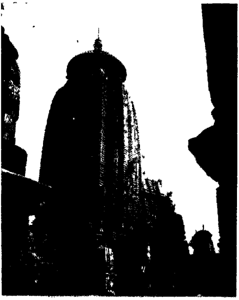
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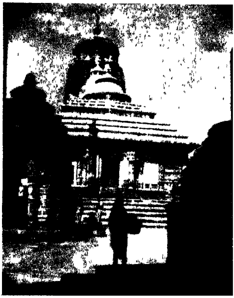
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102	Raja-Rani temple	Bhubanesvara
103	Raja-Rani temple	Bhubanesvara
104	Bhaskaresvara temple	Bhubanesvara
105	Lingaraja temple	Bhubanesvara
106	Lingaraja temple	Bhubanesvara

105





106



107



108

107	Muktesvara and Siddhesvara	Bhubanesvara
108	Vaital & Sisiresvara temple	Bhubanesvara
109	Parasuramesvara temple	Bhubanesvara
110	Vaital temple	Bhubanesvara

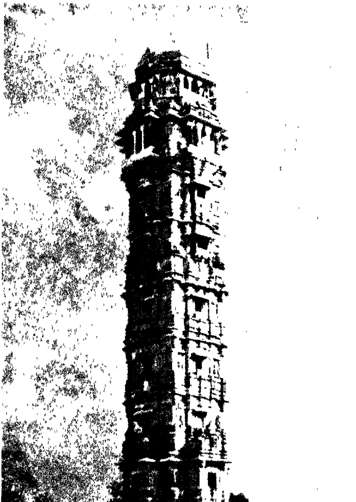
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110

111 Tower of Fame Chitod



111

Jodhpur And Chitod Complex

Rajput architecture is spread over a large part of Republican India. It dates from about the seventh century[1] to about the middle of the nineteenth century As extant specimens go it begins with sacred architecture and ends with civil palatial structures and semi-sacred mortuary monuments The earliest extant specimens of temple architecture centre round Jodhpur region But the most famous temple and other temples associated with the most glorious of Rajput personalities, Rana Kumbha and Saint poetess Mirabai and also the earliest specimens of civil and monumental architecture hail from the region round Chitod Chitod itself harbours the two temples known after the above mentioned personalities and also the most unique contribution made by Rajput genius to civil architecture in the form of the Tower of Fame raised by Rana Kumbha, not to mention its much earlier and smaller compeer, the Jain tower

Both Col Tod, and General Cunningham,[2] in their description of the

[1] Ratan Chandra Agrawala in *Journal of Indian History*, 1957, p. 203 The Sitaleswar Mahadeva temple of Chandravati near Jhalrapatan is dated c A D 600 (*E B* 14th ed, vide Jhalrapatan).

[2] James Tod *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W Crooke's ed) I, pp 320, 335-8, 378-9, 433, 454, II, 600-5, 630, 645, 782, f n 2, 898-9, III, pp 1699, 1752-68, 1784-88, 1799-1802, 1818-21 and f n 2 on p 1831, *A S Reports*, II, pp. 263-457; VII, pp 1-246, Fergusson, II, pp 132-35, 137-43, 147-50, 156-57, 172-78; Percy Brown, *Ind Arch Buddhist and Hindu Period*, pp 129-33, 134-37, 152-53

various towns and villages of the parts of Rajasthan and Malwa they visited, mention not infrequently the number of temples they saw mostly in ruined condition belonging to the pre-Muslim period of India's history It is not necessary to count them and specify the number Any one can get the impression going through these valuable records that the pre-Muslim temples of Rajasthan were quite numerous testifying temple-building activity of no common measure The places covered by the description of these two painstaking antiquarians, though many, cannot possibly have exhausted all likely ones Later archæologists appear to have discovered some more temple sites and Fergusson draws attention to "an important group of ancient temples" at Osian[3] about 30 miles north Brown has presented at least one very fine specimen from Kiradu in Mallani District, Marwad

The region covered by the description of these scholars extends from Udaipur to Jhalrapatan in the east passing through Chitod on the way and from there north-east through Khajuraho and Mahoba to Gwalior and further and thence west to Ajmir and south to Jodhpur From the notices of both Tod and Cunningham and of Fergusson we can see that there were many more temple cities in mediæval pre-Muslim Rajput domain in addition to the famous and the commonly known one of Khajuraho They were Osian, Baroli, Mahanal, Gwalior, Ajmir and others Almost all the temples, hardly two of which have had the good fortune to stand complete, were erected between the 8th or the 9th century and the eleventh or the twelfth

I shall give a few extracts from the description given by Tod of the Ghatesvara Mahadeva temple at Baroli which lies on the east bank of the Chambal, 3 miles from Bhainsrorgadh on the west bank and is about 60 miles east of Chitod and 40 miles north-west of Jhalrapatan In Crooke's edition of Tod's book appears a sketch of the most exquisite front near view, and in woodcuts 336 and 337 on page 134 of the second volume of Fergusson's book a sketch and a plan of the beautiful temple can be studied Tod has obliged posterity by adding four more sketches of the other parts of the temple, that of the sculptured panel standing inside, opposite page 1752, that of a sculptured niche on the exterior, opposite page 1756, that of the sculptured ceiling of the portico, opposite page 1758, and that of the ruins with a standing pillar, opposite page 1760

[3] D R Bhandarkar, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1908-09

Says Tod: "To describe its stupendous and diversified architecture is impossible; it is the office of the pencil alone, but the labour would be almost endless Art seems here to have exhausted itself, and we were perhaps now for the first time, fully impressed with the beauty of Hindu sculpture. . . The carving on the capital of each column would require pages of explanation, and the whole, in spite of high antiquity, is in wonderful preservation. This is attributable mainly to two causes: every stone is chiselled out of the close-grained quartz rock, perhaps the most durable (as it is the most difficult to work) of any, and in order that the Islamite should have some excuse for evading their iconoclastic law, they covered the entire temple with the finest marble cement, so adhesive, that it is only where the prevalent winds have beaten upon it that it is altogether worn off, leaving the sculptured edges of the stone as smooth and sharp as if carved only yesterday"

"The grand temple of Baroli is dedicated to Siva It stands in an area of about two hundred and fifty yards square, enclosed by a wall built of unshaped stones without cement. . The remains that choke up the interior are highly interesting One of these specimens was entire, and unrivalled in taste and beauty." Describing the figure of Parvati carved on the panel along with Siva Tod says "Every limb is in that easy flowing style peculiar to ancient Hindu art, and wanting in modern specimens Of the various other figures many are mutilated Captain Waugh is engaged on one of the figures, which he agrees with me in pronouncing unrivalled as a specimen of art There are parts of them especially the heads, which would not disgrace Canova"

" the grand temple is fifty-eight feet in height, and in the ancient form peculiar to the temples of Siva The body of the edifice, in which is the sanctum of the God, and over which rises its pyramidal *sikhara*, is a square of only twentyone feet, but the addition of the domed vestibule (*mandap*) and portico makes it forty-four by twentyone . . . The whole is covered with mythological sculpture, without as well as within, emblematic of the 'great God' (*Mahadeo*). . . In a niche outside, to the south, he is armed against the Daityas, the *munda-mala*, or skull-chaplet, reaching to his knees, and in seven of his arms are offensive weapons . To the west is Mahadeo under another form, a beautiful and animated statue, the expression mild, as when he went forth to entice the mountain-nymph, Mena, to his embrace. . The northern compartment is a picture, disgustingly faithful, of death and its attributes, vulgarly known as Bhukhi Mata. . . Close by are two mortals in the

last stage of existence, so correctly represented as to excite an unpleasant surprise. The outline, I may say, is anatomically correct . . Such is a faint description of the sculptured niches on each of the external faces of the *mandir*, whence the spire rises, simple and solid"

Detailing the three parts of the temple, (1) *mandir* or *cella*, (2) the *mandap*, "or, in architectural nomenclature, the *pronaos*", and (3) "the portico", Tod tells his readers that the last "transcends all description" and that it "has superb columns in front, of which the outline . . conveys but a very imperfect idea" Tod goes on with the description of the portico and the columns thus "The columns are about eighteen feet in height The proportions are perfect, and though the difference of diameter between the superior and inferior portions of the shaft is less than the Grecian standard, there is no want of elegance of effect, whilst it gives an idea of more grandeur. The frieze is one mass of sculptured figures, generally of human beings, male and female, in pairs, the horrid monster termed Grasda separating the different pairs *The internal* toran *or triumphal arch, which is invariably attached to all ancient temples of the sun-god, is of that peculiar curvature formed by the junction of two arcs of a circle from different centres, a form of arch well-known in Gothic and Saracenic architecture, but which is an essential characteristic of the more ancient Hindu temples* The roof of the Mandap (*pronaos*) cannot be described its various parts must be examined with microscopic nicety in order to enter into detail In the whole of the ornaments there is an exact harmony which I have seen nowhere else, even the miniature elephants are in the finest proportions, and exquisitely carved The ceilings both of the portico and mandap are elaborately beautiful · that of the portico, *of one single block*, could hardly be surpassed."[4]

The sanctum contained the symbol of the god known locally as Rori Barolli, which Tod tells us is a corruption of Balrori, the child 'rori', the symbol of Balnath, the sun-god[5], being "an orbicular stone termed rori" "This symbolic rori", proceeds Tod, "is not fixed, but lies in a groove in the internal ring of the Yoni, and so nicely is it poised, that with a very moderate impulse it will continue revolving while the votary recites a tolerably long hymn to the object of his adoration"

In front of the temple about ten yards away, on a "low altar" kneels Siva's bull called Nandi. About ten yards further away stands "another

[4] Tod, Vol III, pp 1752-58 Italics mine

[5] Tod's reference to the deity as Sun-god is of course wrong

superb edifice, called the Singarachaori [Sringara-chori] or nuptial hall", a square of forty feet[6] supported by a double range of columns on each face, the inter-columniations being quite open and although these columns want the elegant proportions of the larger temple, they are covered with exquisite sculpture as well as the ceilings. In the centre of the hall is an open space of about twelve feet square [in Fergusson's plan while the total length of the arms measures forty feet, this internal square is not more than ten feet square] ; and here, according to tradition, the nuptials of Raja Hun with the fair daughter of a Rajput prince, of whom he had long been enamoured, were celebrated.[7] . .

Around the temple are the shrines of other gods, beginning with that of Ganesa which stands to the north "equi-distant from the nuptial hall and the chief temple" "Near the dishonoured fragments of Ganesa [as he "was not spared by the Tartar iconoclast"], and on the point of losing his equilibrium is the divine Narada" Tod saw the lyre, Vina, still in his hands, though "more than one string of the instrument" was wanting and "one of the gourds which, united by a sounding board, form the *vina*", was broken off

The shrine was dedicated to Ghatesvara Mahadeo, the 'linga' as mentioned earlier "revolving in the *yoni*", exciting the wonder of all those who visited that out-of-the-way place[8]

The appraisal of "the able and critical Fergusson", as General Cunningham[9] puts it, is no less flattering to this structure than that of "the enthusiastic Tod" Fergusson[10] observes: " it has a pillared portico of great elegance, whose roof reaches halfway up the temple, and is sculptured with a richness and complexity of design almost unrivalled, even in those days of patient prodigality of labour . . . The dimensions are remarkably small, . so that its merit consists entirely in its shape and proportions and in the elegance and profusion of the ornament that covers it"

Round the pond attached to the temple, "a square of sixty feet, the water being full to the brim, and the surface covered with the golden

[6] From Fergusson's plan it is clear that the structure is cruciform in plan with its three arm-ends open, the one farthest away from the temple being alone closed

[7] Fergusson too refers to this tradition as "it is fabled" (II, pp 134-5) Crooke, in his footnote 3 on p 1758 of the 3rd volume of Tod's book, mentions a tradition about one Rajput bride of the early part of the eleventh century

[8] Tod, III, pp. 1699, 1759.

[9] *Op cit*, pp 263-4

[10] Volume II, p 133.

and silver lotus", a number of smaller shrines were arranged, one of which "a simple, unadorned hall", contained "a detached piece of sculpture, representing Narayan floating on the chaotic waters". Tod's description of Vishnu Narayana reclining on the seven-hooded serpent, in view of the earlier representation of this Supreme God having been traced in a temple at Deogadh, a Gupta-age site in the Lalitpur District of Jhansi Division, about 160 miles to the east of Baroli, deserves being transcribed in full Says Tod: "The god is reclining in a fit of abstraction [in deep contemplation] upon the *sesha-sayya,* a couch formed of the hydra, or sea-snake, whose many heads expanded from a canopy over that of the sleeping divinity, at whose feet is the benignant Lakshmi, the Hindu Ceres, awaiting the expiration of his periodical repose A group of marine monsters, half man, half fish, support the couch in their arms, their scaly extremities gracefully wreathed, and in the centre of them is a horse, rather too terrestrial to be classical, with a conch-shell and other marine emblems near him The background to this couch rises about two feet above the reclining figure, and is divided horizontally into two compartments, the lower containing a group of six chimerical monsters, each nearly a foot in height, in mutual combat, and in perfect relief. Above is a smaller series, depicting the Avatars, or incarnations of the divinity. On the left, Kurma, the tortoise, having quitted his shell, of which he makes a pedestal, denotes the termination of the catastrophe. Another marine monster, half boar (Varaha), half fish, appears recovering the Yoni, the symbol of production, from the allurucium, by his tusk Next to him is Narasimha, tearing in pieces a tyrannical king, with other allegorical mysteries having no relation to the ten incarnations, but being a mythology quite distinct, and which none of the well-informed men around me could interpret "

The position of Narayana was that of repose and agreed with that described by Kalidasa and sculptured at Deogadh in Jhansi, Mahabalipura near Madras, and Badami in Dharvad, and Aihole in Bijapur, between the 6th and the 8th century[11]. But the depiction of the incarnations, only four of which have been actually mentioned by Tod—and we can only have our whetted curiosity gnawing at us as to what the other six were and how represented—and the other mythological paraphernalia are a development not forecast in any of the three famous earlier sculptural representations of "Seshasayi", Vishnu lying on the serpent couch Tod's meaningful comment is perfectly relevant He says:

[11] See my *Gods and Men*

"From the accompaniment of mermaids, conch-shells, sea-horses, etc., we may conclude that a more elegant mythology than that now subsisting has been lost with the art of sculpture".

Observing that "the minuter ornaments [of Lakshmi] both for design and execution, may be pronounced unrivalled in India", Tod[12] thus appraises the aesthetic quality of the whole sculpture: "The highly imaginative mind of the artist is apparent throughout; he has given a repose to the sleeping body which contrasts admirably with the writhing of the serpent upon which he lies, whose folds, more especially under the neck, appear almost real, a deception aided by the porphyritic tints of the stone The whole is carved out of a single block of the quartz rock, which has a lustre and polish equal to marble, and is of far greater durability."

The dimensions too of the sculpture are large, "the length of the marine couch" being "nearly eight feet", its breadth two and its height somewhat more than three, the figure, from the top of his richly wrought tiara, being four feet"

About 30 miles north-west of Baroli at Menal (Mahanal) and about 40 miles south-east of it at Chandravati (Jhalrapatan) we have remains of temples of the 9th to the 11th century Those of the latter site in their configurations of Gods are reminiscent of the Gupta-age sites further east and thus harmonize with the configurational pattern of Baroli They show both Narayana or Vishnu-Seshasayin and Vishnu-Varaha, perhaps the latter more than the former, in their gods-complex installed in their temples of that age

I shall begin with Menal temples[13], which have not received mention in either Fergusson's work or in the much later book of Percy Brown At least one of them is almost intact and has received high, very high, encomium from more than one field investigator with specialised knowledge and skill. W Crooke has obliged Tod's readers by presenting in a foot-note the additional information put together by later scholars which enhances the historical significance of the site and its ruins. Menal, he tells us, has "a monastery and Saiva temple" constructed, as inscriptions in the institutions make it certain, by one sadhu in A D 1169 and also another temple and a palace put up by one of the queens of the famous Prithviraj Chauhan in A.D. 1168. Tod was so much impressed by the sight of the temples of the place, one of which to judge by the sketch

[12] Volume III, pp. 1760-61
[13] Tod, III, pp 1801-05

reproduced opposite page 1800 of the third volume of his book, which is amply substantiated by the photograph of the temple reproduced by J Burgess[14], had its fine and tapering 'sikhara' intact gracefully standing, that he remarked · "It is fortunate that the pencil can here portray what transcends the power of the pen." In another sketch fronting page 1802 we have a view of another magnificent and probably larger temple whose 'sikhara' is broken but whose pyramidal tops of the porch and the 'sabha mandap' appear in a finely massed position like those of the famous Kandariya Mahadev temple of Khajuraho

James Burgess[15] said about it "Among temples here [at Mahanal or Menal], that of Mahanalesvara is the chief and has been really a magnificent one" He has given us a fine photographic reproduction of it in plate 337 of his book Henry Cousens[16] says about this temple "This is a magnificent temple, probably of the 11th century, with such work which, had it been carried in marble, would have run the Dilwara temples at Abu very close"

In front of the Mahanalesvara temple remains of no less than nine other temples are noticed

From one of the inscriptions found at the place we can conclude that the site was a Saiva one "This (the temple) is an epitome of the universe, whose pironade (*sikhara*) sparkles like a gem" If the inscription is contemporaneous with the temple then the mention by name and profession of the 'silpi' architect of it, is particularly interesting It is stated that the architect (*silpi*) was named Virdhawal who was "learned in the work of architecture (*silpasastra*)".

Tod's enthusiastic appraisal of the temples at Menal is replaced by a more specific but superlative encomium on the sculpturing of the ornaments and the carvings on the pillars and the ceilings of some of the one hundred and eight temples which the local tradition credits the ancient but now ruined city of Chandravati with, whose place is now taken by its immediate neighbour Jhalrapatan He says · [17] "One of these shrines, having a part of the Singar Chaori [nuptial hall] still standing, is amongst the finest things in Asia, not for magnitude, being to all appearances merely receptacles for the inferior divinities surrounding some grand temple, but for *the sculptured ornaments, which no artist in Europe could*

[14] *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, II, pl 337

[15] *Monuments*, etc, II, p 49

[16] *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of Western India for* 1905, p 57, f n

[17] Volume III, p 1786 Italics mine

surpass. Each consists of a simple mandir, or cella, about twenty feet square, having a portico and a long open colonnaded vestibule in front for the priests and votaries Every one of these numerous columns differs in its details from the others. But the entrance chiefly excites admiration, being a mass of elaborate workmanship of a particular kind, and the foliage and flowers may be considered perfect *It is deeply to be lamented that no artists from Europe have made casts from these masterpieces of sculpture and architecture, which would furnish many new ideas, and rescue the land sacred to Bhavani from the charge of having taught nothing but deformity*" To support his comment Tod has furnished five plates of sketches, opposite pages 1784, 1786, 1788, 1790, 1792

Among the sculptures found by Tod figure those of Narayana on his 'hydra-couch', 'colossal' Varaha-boar and of Ganesa And here one thankfully remembers the most painstaking work of the profound and indefatigable archaeologist of the earlier generation, General Cunningham[18], to fill in the outline with flesh and blood General Cunningham too mentions the tradition of the number of the temples that were believed to have existed He has presented a map of the Chandravati group of temples, showing also the two modern (date not given) ones, those of Chaturbhuj and Lakshmi Narayana, on the bank of the Chandrabhaga It can be seen from it that there were besides the temples of Mahadeva and Kalika Devi, two of Varaha Vishnu, one each of Narasimha and Chaturbhuj and one of Ganesa and another of Siva and Parvati riding the Nandi It is to be particularly noted that 'Varaha' is "covered with rows of small figures like those at Khajuraho, Eran and Pathari, the last two sites being well-known for Gupta-age finds"

It is the temple of Sitalesvara Mahadeva that Fergusson described as "*the most elegant specimen of columnar architecture*" *in Upper India*[19] Cunningham quoting this appraisal of Fergusson, which is not to be found in the edition revised by Burgess, "fully" concurs with it, adding that "*It is certainly the most beautiful specimen that I have met with*" Thus Cunningham valued the temple whose plan he has given as superior to the far-famed Kandariya Mahadev temple of Khajuraho, which he describes as "magnificent" and also to the temple of Devi Jagadambi, less well-known but more highly prized by Cunningham[20]

[18] *Archaeological Survey Reports*, II, pp. 263-70

[19] Italics mine *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed, vol 13, p 65) declares it to be the finest feature of the remains of Chandravati which is said to have been destroyed by Aurangzeb

[20] *Op. cit.*, pp 420-1

Comparing the columns of the mosque of Qutbuddin at Delhi with those of Chandravati temple Cunningham[21] says "In the cloisters of the Kutb mosque at Delhi there are many pillars equally beautiful, and, perhaps even more elaborately decorated; but their beauty is marred by their present incongruous arrangement, which has jumbled together in juxtaposition columns of all shapes and sizes that have no harmony with each other In the Chandravati temple, on the contrary, the whole range of columns is in happy keeping, and though the details of ornamentation are different, yet they are all of one general design, so that there is no single pillar of strange appearance to distract the eye and spoil the architectural unity of the building" He adds further, again agreeing with Fergusson's appraisal, which in that form is not found in the Burgess' revised edition of the book, "the roof must have been even more beautiful" and that the portions till then existing showed "ornamentation of striking elegance"

Cunningham assigned the construction of the temple, on the strength of the inscriptions, to the end of the 7th century, stating further that he had seen on the entrance to the sanctum a record made by a pilgrim who must have visited it not later than the 8th century Fergusson and Burgess[22] think that it was erected before the middle of the 9th century *The Encyclopædia Britannica* (*vide* Jhalawar) assigns it to c.A D 600 The temple appears to have attracted pilgrims till at least A D 1096 about which time the shrine which was originally Vaishnava was changed into a Saiva one

H B W Garrick[23], General Cunningham's Archaeology assistant, who to judge by his criticism of the architecture and sculpture of Rana Kumbha's Tower of Fame at Chitod, was quite clearly no friend or admirer of Rajasthani architectural work, too, was moved to bestow high praise on the ruins of this temple Noting quite appropriately that the attempted restoration of the temple is an "unhappy and heterogeneous attempt", he says about the old ruins: "The carvings are superb, more especially the foliated work in the second and third ceiling panels of the northern row these two panels exhibit four different strata, as it were, of minutely sculptured ornamentation, on the *same slab of stone* These are the only examples of such *deeply* carved work on stone which I have seen, and must have cost infinitely more pains to produce than mere sculptures in the

[21] *Ibid*, pp 266-8
[22] *Op. cit*, II, p 133
[23] *Arch Sur Rep.*, XXIII, p 128

round .. Every space in the ceiling of this hall was formerly embellished with such panels; and it is surprising that the two have been suffered to remain unhampered by the spoilers, who are variously called Ghores (Ghoris) and Mughals, Shahabuddin and Aurangzeb"

Near Jodhpur, about 32 miles north-west of it, lies Osian[24] which has yielded rich material for illustrating the evolution of what I should like to call the Rajasthani style of Hindu temple architecture The temples there, which number not less than twelve, are the earliest structures of Rajputs and are spread over a period of about three and a half centuries from the 8th to the middle of the 12th century A D About the group of the earlier temples Brown observes· " . although comparatively small structures, their size is compensated for by the elegance of their architecture and its applied art. What is also striking in these temples is the variety in their design, no two are alike, one and all show an individuality of conception and an originality of composition. "

In addition to the temples of Osian there is the most interesting one dedicated to 'Sachiyaya (Sacchika) mata' as Gaurishankara Ojha records it or Sachiya mata as Burgess[25], who has given us a nice reproduction of it in plate 310 of his book, has it From the description kindly placed at our disposal by Burgess' careful noting we can see that the temple very closely resembles the temple at Visalpur to be described later with the help of Carlleyle's notes And Ojha[26] has provided us with material for dating it He notes four short inscriptions occurring in the temple of Sachiya mata, the earliest of which is dated A D 1176 and the latest 1186 The temple must have been built early in the last quarter of the 12th century and thus is one of the many temples of Rajasthan erected just before the Islamic rule got established at Delhi, in about A D 1200

One of the above mentioned inscriptions records the installation of the images of Chandika, Sitala, Sacchika, Kshemankari and Kshetrapala by one Sheth Jayapala.

Burgess is sure that both the dome over the 'mandapa' and the 'sikhara' are restorations of times later than the construction of the temple and are not original features. The height of the 'sikhara' is not given The overall length of the temple is 79 feet and the width 30 feet 8 inches. The

[24] P Brown, *His Ind Arch Bud H Period*, pp 135-6 Cf J Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, II, p 43 and pl 309, D R Bhandarkar in *Arch Surv of India, Ann Report*, 1908-09.

[25] *Op cit*, p 43, D R Bhandarkar in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1908-09.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 30, also D. R Bhandarkar, *loc cit*

'mandapa' is about 32 feet wide and its dome about 22 feet wide, as I understand it, internally The twelve pillars supporting the dome are evidently the original ones The 'mandapa' is open, the surrounding screen wall being low. This temple differs from the Vishalpur one principally in the roofing of the entrance-porch In this case we have a domed cupola on four delicate pillars which are mounted on the flat roof of the porch so that the porch is double-covered whereas in the Vishalpur specimen we have the porch roofed directly by a dome

Next we come to Kiradu in Mallani District about 16 miles north-west of Barmer which has the remains or ruins of at least five temples, out of which only one, that of Siva, is in some condition deserving to be noticed Percy Brown, who has reproduced it in plates LXXXII (Fig 2), LXXXV (Fig 1) and LXXXVI (Figs 1 and 2) ascribes it to 11th century A D The standing parts have not been found adequate to enable a plan being reconstructed We can say that it was highly ornamented with sculpture of various kinds including human figures in dancing troupes or otherwise Percy Brown[27] gives an eloquent testimony to the excellence of the work "In this temple *the basement or pitha includes a complete series of the traditional mouldings of the style* (Solanki mode in Brown's terminology) consisting of the rows of *horned heads, elephants, horses, and men, in that order*" Much of the 'sikhara' tower is said to be standing and so also "the shell" of the 'mandapa' which is described as "a magnificent pillared hall" The uniqueness of this temple of Somesvara at Kiradu comes out in the following observation of Brown "There appear no other temples in these parts so richly wrought, or showing more distinctly a compounding of exuberant art and intensity of devotion than this deserted group at Kiradu"

As for the date of this temple Brown who assigns it to the 11th century A D has not given any reasons in support. Gaurishankara Ojha, on the other hand, speaks of four inscriptions discovered at Kiradu the earliest of which is dated A D 1153 and the latest 1178 It is best to assign the temple to the second quarter of the 12th century

The most important feature of this temple from our viewpoint, however, is the testimony it bears to the creative endeavour of western Rajasthan in the field of religious and iconographic synthesis At the door are carved images of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva and above there is, what appears to me, the fruit of and novel attempt at interpretation and re-synthesis, a composite image of Brahma, Vishnu and Surya (Sun God)

[27] *Op cit*, I, p 144, Italics mine

The image has ten arms, the number being the sum of the two arms of Surya, four of Brahma and four of Vishnu, though only one head. The two hands of Surya hold lotuses, Vishnu's two hands hold his specific weapons, mace and 'chakra', while Brahma carries in his hands his characteristic implement, the sacrificial spoon.

At Bhatunda, which being in Godawar District appears to be not very far from Sadri, a broken and ruined temple declared by Ojha to be ancient, has its sanctum in two parts In one there stands the image of Vishnu in His Buddha-incarnation, the head covered with the usual crown, two hands placed with palms up placed on the feet folded in 'padmasana' posture, and the other two carrying two of Vishnu's specific weapons This is altogether one of the rare experiments at concretizing the last but one incarnation and the religious synthesis underlying it Sadadi or Sadri itself, best known to students of architecture through the much-advertised and utilized Jaina temple at Ranpur or Ranakpur, is reported to have a number of temples of which as Ojha tells us those of Varaha-Vishnu, Kapurlinga Mahadeva and Jagesvara are principal ones. The image of Varaha-Vishnu, Vishnu in His Boar-incarnation, is known to have been brought from Dhalop There are two other temples, one of Ganesa and the other of Bholanath (Siva) whose 'sikhara'-towers are its only old parts The temple of Chaturbhuj, with the image of the deity in black stone, though ruined, would appear to be contemporaneous with the temple of Kapurlinga Mahadeva opposite which it stands

Bijolia lies within the ambit of the great aura of Chitod, though actually on the border of Bundi territories, and is about 25 miles north-west of Baroli and about 40 miles north-east of Chitod The place and its environs comprising of the villages Morakara or Morakuro, Darauri, Jaraula and four or five others contain more than 20 temples, almost all of them I take it in ruins, and at least one triumphal arch or *torana* Col. Tod[28] who records the dates of some of the inscriptions found there, ranging from A D 844 to A D 1170, has not given any idea of any one of the many temples A C L Carlleyle[29], General Cunningham's Archaeology assistant, who visited the area in 1872-73, has, however, filled the gap to some extent He has described three of the temples, all Saiva They are known as Hazarisur or Sahasra-isuara, Mahankol and Baijnath and Ondesvara

The temple of Hazarisvara is evidently like the beautiful temple at

[28] *Op cit*, III, pp 1797-1800
[29] *Arch Surv Rep*, VI, pp 243-52

Burwa Sagar (pl 37) or the Jaina temple of Adinath at Khajuraho, a single-celled structure with a slightly projecting, and not a built-in, extreme portico. Carlleyle describes its 'sikhara' as "the highest and most pleasing and elegant of any of the Bijoli temples" Its height is given as 55 feet

The temple of Mahankal and Baijnath is a compound one, and in reality it is a structure of two temples with a storeyed side-chamber attached. Unfortunately Carlleyle has not provided us with a plan of this very interesting specimen The compound structure has not only two 'sikharas' but also two domes, though the 'mandapa'-hall itself is described as only one (?) The 'sikharas' appear from the slightly confused description to conform to the usual Rajput style with 'sikhara'-repetition, though one is higher than the other and more pyramidal The pediment of the porch of one of the temples has in its front portion in a canopied niche "the erect figure of a divinity, almost of life size, one of Ganesh and the other of Siva" In the doorway passage among the sculptures placed on both sides of it was "a large three-headed bust figure of the Trimurti, twice the size of life"

The temple of Ondesvara is described as a large one having "a pillared vestibule, *open at three sides with a pillared porch projecting from each of these three sides*", of which the two side ones, not having been provided with steps, are quite clearly bay balconies The plan of the 'mandapa'-hall is thus cruciform It is surmounted, i e, topped, by "*a one-third spherical, or nearly semi-spherical dome*"* *The bay-balconies and the front porch are all covered by domed cupolas* The 'sikhara' is described as having conversely curved parabolic form "The exterior of this temple is profusely and elaborately ornamented with sculptures, which consist in part of representations of figures and subjects of a somewhat obscene nature These, however, are principally confined to the lower portion of the exterior of the 'sikhara'" Carlleyle assigned the temples to about A D 1200, though apparently built up of older remains They are built of white and red close-grained standstone

Thoda or Thore, which lies south-west of Tonk about 22 miles and north-north-east of Chitod about 103 miles, is a town where Banias or Gujars formed the bulk of the population and the few Rajputs that there were, were non-natives of the place It had a chequered history having passed through the hands of Solankis, Chauhans, Kachahwahas, Moghuls

* Italics mine

and Sisodias in the past[30] There is a great temple or "rather a temple with a very lofty and beautiful 'sikhara', which is in reality a very excellent and well-executed restoration of a much more ancient shrine." The original shrine on whose plinth the new structure rises was probably built by the Solankis towards the end of the twelfth century A D

"The 'sikhara' or the conical tower, of the temple, is said to have been built or restored by the queen or wife of Rai Sinh Sisodia." The "very large but rudely executed portico"—from the plan kindly provided by Carlleyle in plate XIV it is clear that the so-called portico is the 'sabha-mandapa' or the hall of the temple—"was added to the temple, by subscriptions, by the pandits of Thoda in Samvat 1874 (A.D 1817 ?)".

The dimensions of the whole temple are. (1) length 77 5 ft, breadth 44 5 ft, the hall being 39 ft broad and 25 ft. deep; (2) the plinth and base of the original temple from outside to outside is about 44 feet each way, (3) "the height of the plinth and conical spire together, from the ground to the top of the Kalasa, is about 103 feet (?)", the spire itself being "97 feet in height". A structural peculiarity of this temple of significance is the existence of two *"square-sided, cone-topped kiosks, or cupolas, supported on four pillars"*, rising *"one on each side of the front of the spire"* their square bases forming part of the present 'antarala' or the earlier porch, of the temple sanctum The rectangular hall in continuation with the bases of these is described as a pillared portico, its roof, whose nature Carlleyle has unfortunately not revealed to us, carried on twelve pillars, dividing the hall into two longitudinal and two latitudinal aisles and a central nave

Carlleyle, who criticises the new portico as not only not improving the appearance of the temple but also as actually marring "the architectural beauties" and hiding "the sculptures of the front of the temple" is enthusiastically appreciative of the restoration carried out earlier by a Sisodia queen completing the structure in its original plan He says *"The external sculptural ornamentation of the 'sikhara' or spire, although plain, is very good, and in as much harmony with the plinth as could be expected in a restoration of this kind upon an older foundation; but it is never the less a very happy and well executed restoration, and does full credit to the Sisodia architects"*[31]

The graphic description of the 'sikhara' given by Carlleyle is so unique and so well capable of conveying an image of it that in view of the absence

[30] *Arch Surv Rep*, VI, pp 152-59
[31] *Ibid*, p 243 Italics mine.

of a reproduction of the 'sikhara' I must quote it in full. Says Carlleyle. "The spire is an elliptical or parabolic cone, flattened on four sides, with four successive overlapping *flattened** conic pinnacles running up the centre of each side It is surmounted by the usual massive, cog-wheel-shaped cap, from which rises the triple-ringed base of the 'kalas', which is formed like a cup and ball, terminating with a spike Indeed, the whole thing may be likened to a spiked cup and ball, planted on the top of three flat cheeses, resting on a big cog-wheel ; and the whole surmounting a huge egg, or *cone, out of the sides of which little cones are growing*" Carlleyle has unfortunately not characterized the treatment of the four corners and that of the space, if any, between the corners and the so-called flattened side-spaces

It is noteworthy that the peculiar feature of the towers in front by the sides of the 'sikhara' mentioned above is described by Carlleyle as being "*somewhat in the same manner as the two cupolas on the front of many-domed buildings of the Romanesque style in Europe*"[32]

Carlleyle, who for some reason has not given the elevation or the section of this great temple, has provided in plate XV both the plan and the section of the whole of another temple at the place described as the "lesser temple", 58 ft and 8 inches by 30 ft and 2 inches, whose 'sikhara' is wanting

Another notable temple[33], built evidently not later than A D 1174, and traditionally about fifty years earlier, by the grandfather of the famous Chauhan Prithviraj is noticed at Vishalpur, an old town which tradition holds to have been founded by the grandfather The town is "situated about 7 miles to the south-west by south from Thoda at the south-western corner of the Girnar mountain range"

Carlleyle introduces it thus "There is a fine old temple in Vishalpur, situated close under the hillside at the entrance to the pass, which, I was happy to find, had not been destroyed by the Muhammadans In this fine old temple, grey, mouldy, and hoarylooking with age we found several inscriptions, which were all, with one exception, of the time of Prithvi Raj" He has devoted three plates, XVIII, XIX, XX, to illustrate the plan, elevation and one of the pillars over which the dome of the 'mandapa' rests, which appear to be rather uncommon in design and ornamentation.

* Italics mine

[32] This description in terms of egg is not appropriate, the lower portion of the sikhara being actually a little broader than upper one Italics mine

[33] *Arch Surv Rep.*, VI, pp 152-59

The sectional elevation given in plate XIX is the most complete with measurements at various stages of the 'sikhara', and its dimensions. It is 74 feet in length, 51 feet in breadth. Its "grand vestibule ('mandapa') about 29 feet 6 inches square, interiorly", is *"surmounted by a nearly hemispherical dome,* which is about 35 feet in diameter from outside to outside, and has about 28 feet span interiorly." It is supported on eight tall pillars, nearly 15 feet in height The interior surface of the dome *"presents an engrailed outline, or is formed into undulating curves, but it is nevertheless evidently constructed after the Hindu step-stone fashion —the interior ends of the horizontal stones forming the dome having evidently been cut off into curves"*

Just as there is an 'antarala' to this temple so has it an apology for an 'ardhamandapa', in front of which stands the entrance porch which too is covered by a dome about 5 feet in diameter and about 4 feet in height *At the back of the sanctum, though neither on its sides nor on* those of the 'mandapa', there is "a small projecting niche, 4 feet 6 inches in height, formed of a canopy supported on pillars."

The 'sikhara'-tower, which was evidently complete but whose ornamentation Carlleyle has not given, and whose form appears from the section and the description to be gracefully curvilinear, though too short for the big dome in front on the 'mandapa', rises 30 feet 3 inches "above the roof of the main front vestibule ('mandapa'), and is altogether 48 feet 3 inches in height from the base"

At Dhamnar, 50 miles south-west of Jhalrapatan and about 82 miles north of Ujjain in Indore region there are cave excavations one of which has a monolithic temple It is said to have been dedicated to Vishnu under the name Chaturbhuj, four-armed, which we come across in the whole of the Rajasthani area demarcated above, at Khajuraho, at Gwalior and other places Here, as Tod mentions, there is the further peculiarity—it opens up intriguingly interesting problems and affinities much further down with Maharashtra just as the monolithic temple itself does—that Vishnu, the four-armed, was "clad in robes of his favourite (?) colour ('pander', or yellow ochre), whence one of his titles, Panduranga" The temple whose plan is given by Fergusson measures 48 feet by 33 To judge by Tod's description of the excavation its height, i e., the height of the 'sikhara', must be about 35 feet The two-pillared portico is 10 by 9 5 feet and the 'mandapa' beyond it is a square of 21 feet each way. The sides of the mandapa are closed by "bold lattice work" The sanctum is a small chamber only 10 feet by 7 feet Both

Fergusson and Cunningham are agreed that the temple is an 8th or 9th century excavation Fergusson describes it as a "temple of elegant architecture" Burgess describing it as "in the Indo-Aryan style" opines that it was "not long subsequent to Kailas" It should be particularly noted that the roof of the portico is of the same style as that of the built-in portico of the beautiful single-celled temple of Chaturbhuj at Burwa Sagar in Orcha territory and the frontal top of the Telika mandir of Gwalior The roof of the 'mandapa' is surrounded by miniature 'sikharas' of the same type as that of the temple and of the early temple at Osian, at the four corners of it

Another monolithic temple of Chaturbhuj excavated from solid rock exists at Gwalior It appears from its rather laconic description by Cunningham[34] that it consists of the sanctum which is 12 feet square and a portico which is 10 feet by 9 feet supported on four pillars The roof is described by Cunningham to be "a low pyramid divided into small steps" I therefore cannot agree with him in his description of the roof as "so like the roof" of the Dhamnar temple An inscription proves the date of its excavation to be A D 876

[34] *Loc cit*, p 355

Khajuraho and Gwalior Complex

The great group of temples at Khajuraho, the one at Mahoba and the Sas-Bahu temple at Gwalior are the indelible marks of the great strides the architects of the Chandela Rajputs of the region, known later as Bundelkhand, had made in the reigns of Yashovarman and Dhanga The building activity begins almost with the rise of the dynasty to power at the decline of the Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj who had reached the zenith of their glory with Mihira-Bhoja, who about A D 850 ruled over a kingdom in North India which was as large as that of the more celebrated Harshavardhana of Kanauj about two centuries before.

We do not know of any architectural works of the Pratihara kings who occupied the sacred region of the Ganga-Yamuna doab That the Pratiharas had developed arts in their dominions there is evidence in the recorded fact of the Chandela king Yasovarman, who perhaps built the first temple at Khajuraho, having forcibly taken in A D 954 from a Gurjara Pratihara king of Kanauj "a famous image" of god Vishnu and installed it in the temple he built at Khajuraho[1] Perhaps the early temples of Jodhpur Chitod complex are the works of the architects and artists of the Gurjara Pratiharas

[1] *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, pp, 134, 139 Mrs Dewangana Desai has drawn my attention to the image originally having come from Bhotias or Tibetans and to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol I, p 124

The rising power of the Chandelas was accompanied by a tremendous upsurge both æsthetic and religious Dhanga the successor of Yasovarman, who "usurped to some extent the glory of the Imperial Pratiharas,"[2] is credited with having put up the most famous temples of Khajuraho.

The Pratiharas, who yielded to the Chandelas, on the one hand, and to the Gahadvals, on the other, about the eleventh century, are not represented by any remains of their structures Yet it is quite clear that sculpture must have been highly developed in their region And we know that in the matter of literature they had exercised a patronizing pull over almost the whole century

At least one of them, Mahipala, who ruled about A D 914 to 940, patronized[3] at his court the Maharashtrian Rajasekhara, who, outside Kashmir, was the greatest literary figure of his age Rajasekhara is known to have written a number of dramas of which two at least are famous *Karpuramanjari* written in Prakrit has been edited and translated by Sten Konow, while *Viddhasalabhanjika* written in Sanskrit has been translated into English by L H Gray in *Journal of the American Society*, XXVII Rajasekhara also wrote a Sanskrit work on poetics entitled *Kavyamimansa*, which is described as "a unique work on literary criticism and tradition", though it is only a fragment

The Khajuraho complex has received so many notices, particularly the grand Kandariya Mahadev temple with its infamously sexy appeal has been reproduced in some parts in sculptural context so many times that it seems a needless repetition to draw the readers' attention to it as a great Rajput achievement in the domain of architecture and sculpture between A D 800 and A D 1200 However, it is best to remind the reader of it in this particular context as it makes a piece in the whole picture board It is also a big complex of a temple city, where not only Saivism and Vaishnavism existed side by side but also Jainism The number of temples dedicated to Saiva and Vaishnava sects is large being at least eighteen[4] Sir Lepel Griffin[5] described them as "the most beautiful in form as well as the most elegant in detail of any of the temples now standing in India" Sir John Marshall spoke of them as

[2] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1957, p 152

[3] D C Ganguly, *op cit*, p 33 *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p 134, makes him patronized by the earlier king the great Mihira Bhoja , Cf also M Krishnamachariar, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp 625-30, 742-4

[4] Cunningham, *Arch Sur Rep*, II, pp 412, 438

[5] *Famous Monuments of Central India*, p 91 Eight of them and their art are presented in 16 plates in the book

"unrivalled in point of form and richness of carving by any other group of kindred monuments in India"[6]

Khajuraho is linked up with another well-known mediaeval city, Mahoba, which standing only about 35 miles to its north served the Chandela Rajahs of Bundelkhand as their capital for about a century and a half till the end of the twelfth century It was in the thirteenth century that with the capture of Mahoba by Kutbuddin Aibak that the Chandelas moved to the great fortress of Kalinjar It may be mentioned that the new capital had already been provided with a temple named Nilakanthesvara—it should be noted that Siva was far more frequently provided with temples under this name in the region of Gwalior, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand and Malwa—before A D 1070 A Sanskrit inscription[7] dated in the year A D 1070 records the construction of the 'mandapa' hall of the temple by the preceptor of the Chandela king Kirtivarman, describing the structure as 'ruchira', beautiful It also registers the fact that the 'dhwajarohana' planting of the flag on the temple, evidently the equivalent of the opening ceremony of a civil building, was also done then

There is still another reason why Khajuraho group of Hindu temples should be specifically mentioned And that is that in spite of the fact that Khajuraho remained in the Muslim hands for many centuries and many of the temples were desecrated or left in neglect, Ibn Batuta found in A D 1335 that Jogis were residing there upon whom "many of the Moslems of those parts attended to learn magic" In the beginning of the 19th century a British surveyor reported the area as overgrown jungle Yet the careful inquirer Cunningham found in the second quarter of the 19th century that pilgrims assembled in thousands for the 'Sivaratar' fair, the number of visitors being so large that their encampment covered about 5 to 6 square miles How far this activity was resuscitated or encouraged by the interest which the Rajas of Chhatarpur showed by their renovating activity early in the 19th century, it cannot be ascertained[8]

In addition at least two of the temples of the Khajuraho complex are so completely intact that, in comparison with other temples of Gujarat, Rajasthan proper and Gwalior-Mathura region, they appear to have had a charmed existence in the midst of the Muslim despoilers of Hindu places of worship.

[6] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-05, p 5.
[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp 163-66
[8] Cunningham, *op. cit*, pp 421, 426, 438

I shall start with presenting the most insistent claim on the attention of posterity this temple complex has They are the treasure-house of an enormous amount of sculpture whose extent, thanks to the labours of the indefatigable Cunningham can be stated in numerical terms Two temples between them showed 1,002 human figures, each between 2 and 2 5 feet high, another temple 300 such figures each 2 5 feet high, while still another, the far-famed Kandariya Mahadeva temple, yielded as many as 872, each 2 5 to 3 feet high Besides, there was an enormous number of statues of deities huddled together outside some old ruined structures and a number of statues in the sanctums or the porches of some temples, not to speak of the deities carved on the lintel of the doors of many of these The outstanding statues of deities in situ whose measurements have been very obligingly given by painstaking Cunningham are almost colossal Thus we have (1) A Siva-'lingam' 8 feet in height and 3 feet 8 inches in girth, and another "marble *lingam* of *Mahadeo*" 4 25 feet high, (2) A Nandi, Siva's bull, "7 25 feet in length and highly polished", (3) A Chaturbhuj Vishnu, 9 feet in height, being thus the biggest statue in the whole lot, (4) A Varaha or Boar-Vishnu, 8 feet 9 inches in length and 5 feet 9 5 inches in height, (5) A Narasimha or man-lion Vishnu, 4 feet 1 inch in height, having three heads, the middle one being that of man and the side ones of lion, (6) A Vamana or Dwarf-Vishnu, 4 feet 8 inches in height, (7) one Lakshmi 5 feet 8 inches in height and another only 5 feet high, (8) A Surya or Sun-god on "an elaborate sculpture 8 feet in height", in which the deity is represented as 'a two-armed male figure, 5 feet high holding lotus flowers in both hands,' (9) A Ganesa or the elephant-headed deity 6 feet high, and (10) Two Hanumans or Monkey-god, one being 7 feet high and another "colossal", whose actual height is not given One of these bears an inscription of A D 868[9]

It will be seen from this list that the site is again reminiscent of the Gupta and post-Gupta age configuration of deities, Boar, Lion-man and Lakshmi with Vishnu being the typical Gupta configuration By the time of the Chandela rise about the 8th century A D it is clear Skanda had gone out of fashion, and had been ousted in the North and Ganesa was taking his place[10]

The greatest temple, that of Kandariya Mahadev, has a spire which soars 116 ft above the ground, and has an area of about 6,500 sq ft which by standards of North Indian temples is not small expanse The other

[9] Cunningham, *Arch Surv Rep*, II, pp 418, 420, 421-22, 425-7, 429-30, 437
[10] On this see my *Gods and Men*

intact structure is the Vishwanath temple which Cunningham tells us is one-third smaller than the Kandariya Mahadev temple, its area being a little over 4,000 sq ft Its spire is intact but its height is not given. Cunningham referring to the Kandariya Mahadev temple as "this magnificent temple" speaks of the Viswanath temple as "this gorgeous temple" That is not to say that there is no gorgeousness in the Kandariya Mahadev temple As a matter of fact summing up his impression of it Cunningham mentions its gorgeousness, but it has also other claims on the observer's attention. He says "the general effect of this gorgeous luxury of embellishment is extremely pleasing, although the eye is often distracted by the multiplicity of the details" There is another temple slightly smaller than the Vishwanath temple, having an area of only 3,800 sq ft Its plan Cunningham declares to be "more beautiful" than that of the Kandariya Mahadev temple and "its ornamentation" to be equally "rich and elaborate" There is another temple which is almost as big with an area of over 3,700 sq feet which changed its name twice within twenty-five years from A D 1838 It bore the name of Chaturbhuj in A D 1838, which was changed to Laxman between 1838 and 1852 and was changed to Ramchandra before 1864-5 It was last visited by a pilgrim in A D 1104, "just 150 years after the erection of the temple" as General Cunningham assures us[11]

The smallest temple of this great complex is the most interesting It is known as the temple of Brahma but is quite logically pronounced by General Cunningham to be a Vaishnava one * Its interest centres round its date Outside, the building is 19 feet square and inside only 10 5 feet Cunningham was inclined to assign it to the eighth or ninth century[12]

In these temples the Northern style of Hindu sacred architecture, specifically to be named Rajput, attained its culmination both aesthetically and spiritually, though marred by the sexy sculptures of many of them But this sexy sculptural feature appears to have been common in other great centres of Hindu temple-building activity, west, east, or south as far as Mysore Allowing for that curious aberration, the temples of Khajuraho embody the ideas of Hindu contemplative approach to the

[11] Cunningham in, *A S R.*, II, pp 419-23, 425-7, Fergusson, II, pp 141-3, P Brown, *op. cit*, *Buddhist and Hindu Period*, pp 130-1

* Mrs Dewangana Desai, who has studied the Khajuraho temples in great detail, assures me that it is a Saiva temple, the idol being a 'Chaturmukha Linga', four-faced phallus

[12] *Arch. Surv Rep*, II, pp 430-1

deity in their plans, elevations, and their symbolic and decorative carving as no other type of temple does

Mahoba which can be described as a city of lakes, though the name is a contraction of Sanskrit Mahotsavanagara, 'city of the great festival', as it has at least three lakes The Muslim occupation of the place for a long time has had the usual consequence of not only Hindu temples but also the ancient civil buildings being in ruins This circumstance explains the fact that there is no mention of Mahoba temples in the standard books on Hindu or Indian architecture, the solitary temple standing intact unfortunately not having been reproduced by Cunningham[13] Two or three temples in a ruined condition are described by him And what is more he has given their dimensions From these it is clear that the temples, which might have been put up before the middle of the 12th century A D, were rather big The largest of them covers an area of 8,000 sq feet and is thus about one-third bigger than the Kandariya Mahadev temple of Khajuraho It was dedicated to Krishna as Madari or the foe of the demon Madhu ('Madhu + 'ari', Madhusudana being the common name for this aspect of Krishna) Another has an area of about 4,300 sq feet In the bed of the lake by its side Cunningham discovered five life-size statues of elephants, each with the average length of 8 25 feet and a body of 12 25 feet girth

The temple that was intact when Cunningham visited the place in 1864-5 was situated on a rugged hill outside the fort, where another temple was in complete ruins, both being of granite Cunningham's remark about the intact temple is significant and reads "still standing lofty and erect in the midst of waters after the lapse of 700 years"

Thence to famous Gwalior, whose Sas-Bahu temple and Telika mandir find frequent, almost invariable, mention in books on Indian architecture or even in books on Indian culture, as also the pre-Moghul palace of Man Singh of Gwalior known as Man-mandir, and whose fort changing hands many times has stood firm and proud

Cunningham has recorded and described partially or fully many more structures than these two temples which are frequently mentioned How many more temples than the number that can be counted either standing or in ruins there must have been in Gwalior before the first quarter of the 16th century we do not know But Cunningham's mention of a modern temple as being on a site where must have stood the original temple, which was destroyed by Sher Shah, and his mention of the tradi-

[13] *Op cit*, *Arch Surv Rep*, II, pp 439-44

tion of the existence of a temple called 'Vijaya mandir', built probably in the 9th century, point to their existence in pre-Moghul times.

Cunningham informs his readers how the timely fraternal squabbles in the family of Sikandar Lodi saved the temples of Gwalior, which he significantly describes as "fortunate in escaping the religious intolerance" of Sikandar Lodi. The old temples still standing when Cunningham visited Gwalior were, however, only five, all of which "having been desecrated by the Muhammadans" were "no longer used as places of worship" Some of the ruined temples, however, were being visited even then at certain seasons Leaving out the Jaina temple, Cunningham's list records ten shrines Many, or perhaps most of the temples, must have been built after about 1250 For in A D 1232, Altamsh, capturing the fort, is credited with having destroyed the oldest temple in the fort, that of the sun, built about A D 300 and also another whose foundation year is not known

The earliest structure[14] would appear to be the small shrine of Chaturbhuj hewn out of rock during the reign of king Rama Deo of Kanauj in the year A D 875

Cunningham believed that the famous 'Telika Mandir', "the loftiest building in Gwalior" was originally a Vaishnava temple which "may have been desecrated by the Muhammadan conquerors under Altamsh, and afterwards restored as a Saiva temple during the long sway of the Tomara Rajas in the fifteenth century" Pilgrims' records dated A D 1465 and 1480 at the temple show that the temple had already been devoted to the worship of Siva

The great temple known as the Sas-Bahu[15] was completed in A D 1092 and stands unique as the earliest temple, whether it was Jaina or Vaishnava Hindu cannot be determined, the 'sabhamandap', or 'maha-mandap' of which has a storeyed exterior It has ground and two storeys The temple, whose plan is so well presented by Cunningham, but not reproduced either by Fergusson or by Brown, is crucial for establishing the fact of this temple being the earliest of the cruciform type And it is well to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the very famous and fine Jaina temple of Vimala at Mt Abu, whose marble outside and the internally ornamented dome are so justly praised, and which was

[14] M B Garde, *Archaeology in Gwalior*, 1934, pp 83-4
[15] M B Garde says that it was completed in A.D 1093, See p 86

constructed only about sixty years before the Sas-Bahu temple of Gwalior, is not cruciform [16]

Sas-Bahu temple is a fairly large structure with an area of about 6,300 sq feet The most important feature about the top and elevation of a Hindu temple of the Northern style is the relative height and breadth of the tops over the various parts in front of the sanctum and that of the 'sikhara' over the sanctum For none of the temples, including those of the Khajuraho complex are rarely available in books on Indian architecture Cunningham[17] had kindly provided the same Though conjectural ones, they are the ones scientifically conjectured by a painstaking student of art and architecture, in respect of the two most important parts of the temple for which it was possible to deduce them Fergusson did not reproduce them, nor did he or his reviser Burgess replace them by his own Percy Brown[18] gives the probable height of the 'sikhara' over the sanctum as 150 feet, accepting of course Cunningham's conjectural estimate He, however, puts the height of the stepped-pyramidal roof of the hall, 'mahamandapa' or 'sabha-mandapa' at "about 80 feet" Cunningham, who was very much better placed to make a scientific deduction—and the conjectured height of the roof of this part of the temple must be considered to be a scientific deduction as a large portion of the top was in existence when Cunningham studied it and measured its height—about its height when it was intact, states it to be 100 feet in the following words 'As it stands at present, the great temple of Padmanatha [the deity to which the Sas-Bahu temple was believed by the people to have been dedicated, which fact has led me to leave the question of its having been either a Jaina or a Hindu temple as an open one] is about 70 feet in height, but as the pyramid top is very much broken I estimate the original height of the building at not less than 100 feet" Another important fact missed by both Fergusson and Brown is the provision of a platform and the great height of the plinth This feature of a raised platform in combination with the high plinth makes the structure very prominent in its environs and deserves to be particularly emphasized as it occurs in a region. near Delhi-Ajmir region which was later the scene of Islamic structures built on high platforms to make them noticeable and imposing The great

[16] Indeed Percy Brown, op cit, p 143, calls it cruciform He has not given its plan and the plan given by Fergusson (II, p 37) is clearly not cruciform in the sense that the plan of the Sas-Bahu temple is

[17] *Op cit*, pp 358-60

[18] *Hist Ind Arch Bud and H Period*, pp 152-3

Kandariya Mahadev temple of Khajuraho stands on a platform 13 feet high; Sas-Bahu temple with its "richly carved plinth" stands on one from 10 to 12 feet in height". The earliest specimens of a temple with a high plinth or platform in Northern India are some of the temples of the Osian group near Jodhpur which are dated from the 8th century to the 10th century A D [19]

Sir Lepel Griffin, whose reproduction of the Sas-Bahu temple[20] in four plates XLII-XLV is so excellent, makes the following interesting and instructive comment "Little did the Muhammadans think, when they endeavoured to efface the carvings by chuna and white wash, that this method would have the effect of preserving them" He adds · "The dome over the porch, which rests on an octagon, is of a very rich and ornamental kind With the aid of cleansing, "it is, after the lapse of 800 years, as perfect as when it was new" One speciality of the ornament motif of this temple in common with that of Telika Mandir of the same place, which Sir Lepel has brought out, deserves being carefully noted And that is that "every bracket, capital, pillared niche, and moulding, is but a repetition of the plan of the building" Griffin lauds this feature as one "giving a harmony to the smallest detail"

The Sas-Bahu temple has over its present expanse seven domes Admiring the large dome over the entrance to the sanctum as "exquisitely unique" and even recording "the graceful females with garlands in their hands sitting inside the projections" of this dome, Griffin remarks · "A perfectly similar dome I identified last year when revisiting the cloisters of the Kutub I should have been misled by the coincidence, if I had not known that architecture was common to all sects, and further, that the cloisters of the Kutub are made up not of one but of the remains of many temples"

Of the smaller Sas-Bahu temple or as it is perhaps more proper to say, of the Bahu temple out of the pair of the Sas-Bahu temples, Cunningham[21] says "Altogether, this little temple is a fine specimen of the ornate style of mediaeval Hindu architecture This beautiful temple is another shrine of Vishnu, whose four-armed image holding the club and mounted on the eagle, Garuda, occupies the central position over the doorway On his right is the bearded Brahma holding the Veda, and

[19] Brown, *His Ind Arch*, *Bud and H Period*, p 135
[20] *Famous Monuments of Central India* (1886), pp 75, 76 and 80
[21] *Op. cit*, pp 361-62

to his left Siva with his trident" Sir Lepel Griffin[22] observes about this temple "This little shrine ought to last for centuries," though its sanctum has been completely destroyed

Twenty-five miles north of Gwalior is a place by name Suhaniya which was a town in early mediaeval times and can boast of a big temple of an early date Cunningham[23], rejecting the date of about A D 275 as the local tradition has it, places this temple of Vishnu as not earlier than the 7th or 8th century, "or perhaps even later" Though in a ruined condition its 'sikhara' had enough of its portion intact for Cunningham to specify both its shape and its height The shape of the 'sikhara' is "a paraboloidal form diminishing rapidly toward the top" and its height 100 feet, the length of the temple being the same Cunningham declares it to be "much inferior" to the other large temples of Northern India "both in the quantity of its sculpture and in the richness and the extent of its architectural ornamentation"

To describe briefly or even to mention the large number of temples in much less known places under Rajput occupation west of the line drawn between Banaras and Sambhalpur, most of which are complete ruins, is neither feasible nor necessary But among the many ruins of temples recorded by Beglar more than ninety years ago, there are a few which have sufficient portions of them intact to provide us a more or less complete idea of their plans, structure and elevation They are also not only as old as the more famous of the temples of other places but at least one or two of them, even older than them And I shall describe very briefly such of them as can bear such description

Before beginning with Beglar's discoveries which would naturally lead with those of Cunningham into the old Vakataka territory, i e, into Nagpur and Chanda districts of Maharashtra, let me deal with two sites nearer these centres of the complex One of them is Kadwaha, about 22 miles north-west of Chanderi, about 50 miles north-west of Bina railway station and about 75 miles north of Udaypur According to M. B Garde, it contains the "remains of not less than fourteen temples (Brahmanical), all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries" of the Christian Era The place was anciently known as Kadambaguha which name has deteriorated into the present one of Kadwaha (pl 22) The other place is Burwa Sagar in Orcha where there is standing an undated beautiful temple (pl 37) which to judge from the lintel of

[22] *Op cit*, p 85 It is reproduced in pl XLVI
[23] *Op cit*, p 400

the door of the built in porch, is quite clearly a Vishnu temple. Vishnu "on his mount eagle is sculptured in the centre with Brahma on his ram (?) to his right and Siva on his bull to his left It is a beautiful temple with a gracefully topped sanctum and a small built in porch which is a compact part of the sanctum and forms its narrower projection The top of the sanctum is a fine 'sikhara' but of the porch of a different type of "low 'sikhara' ". The latter resembles the front of the Telika Mandir of Gwalior Another, i e , a third, peculiarity of the temple which makes it approximate to the Mritanga Mahadev temple or the great Kandariya Mahadev temple at Khajuraho is that its plan is cruciform, two projecting but rather small bay balconies on two sides being visible in the reproduction (Griffin, pls LXXX, LXXXI and LXXXII)

Ruins of at least three temples part of the 'sikhara' of one of them still standing when photographs were taken in the last or penultimate decade of the 19th century, are attested by Lepel Griffin who has reproduced them in plates LXXXV and LXXXVI.

Sohagpur of Beglar's account is the easternmost for our purpose It is in the territory of old Rewah State, about 90 miles east of Jubalpur and about 150 miles south-south-east of famous Khajuraho Burgess[24], who has obliged us with a nice reproduction of the great temple in plate 336 of his book, warns us not to confound the place with another of the same name in Hoshangabad District. Beglar[25] has given a good plan of it in plate XXI and described it as "an unusually large temple, in the style of the temples of Khajuraho", resembling "most the small ruined temple known as Jabar, close to the group of Jain temples there" The 'sikhara' is "of very elegant shape, and rises up with a gentle graceful curve most nearly approaching in form the curves of the towers of the Jain group of temples at Khajuraho, and of the temple known as Jabar , "it is ornamented, by clusters of similar shaped towers, smaller, rising up along its faces and angles to varying and progressively increasing heights, *thus giving the appearance of rising up through a great forest of similar smaller towers*" "The sculpture is much in the style of the Khajuraho sculptures there are very gross obscenities, but they are placed in retired corners , figures of women purposely exposing themselves are, however, very numerous . . In minuteness and profusion of sculpture

[24] *Op. cit*, p 48

[25] *Archaeological Survey Reports*, VII, p 240-45—Beglar's account gives the number of temples at Sohagpur as almost a dozen Italics are mine and are intended to impress upon the reader the special features of the Rajput style.

the doorway will rival any that I know of . Three different kinds of stone have been used in building this temple, a red, a yellowish, and a purple standstone This temple is, on the whole, a very fine example of its kind"

Beglar by comparison on stylistic grounds ascribed this temple to the end of the eleventh century Its overall measurements as given by Burgess are 60 feet from east to west, i e, length, 44 feet from north to south, i e, breadth, the shrine 10 feet square, the 'mandapa' pavilion about 20 feet square, the base of the 'sikhara' 30 feet in diameter. Though the spire is described as "elegant with its finial scarcely damaged" its height is not given Burgess moves its building to "the early part of the twelfth century"

One temple[26] at Un in Nimar District, that of Goalesvara, which is described as almost perfect with the exception of a portion of the '*amalaka*' and the crest-jewel, has a four-doored 'mandapa' and appears to have a rudimentary porch built into the 'mandapa' itself The sanctum seems to be cruciform in plan, anyway the 'sikhara' rises over the three porch-like projections of the sanctum and the sanctum itself together in one mass It resembles the Khajuraho Kandariya style in its ornamentation which consists of the four sides being covered with 'sikharas' superimposed and mixing up the 'sikhara'-tower of the temple

Beglar[27] speaks of a temple at Pali in Bilaspur district He says that, though an accurate plan of it cannot be made, it "clearly was a complete one in the style of the Khajuraho ones, or rather more exactly like the great temple at Sohagpur there are projecting windows [bay-balconies ?] *in the sides of the 'mahamandapa' with sloping backrests as there and at Khajuraho*" The roof of the mahamandapa according to Beglar is, however, "of greatly more imposing dimensions than those at Khajuraho, the clear span being 18 feet, "

The 'sikhara'-tower over the sanctum being in a broken condition its general shape and form are not described, but we are told that its 3 principal faces are "broken up into 5 rectangular projections, of which the centre one marking the corner is the principal" The mouldings are described as "deep, bold and richly sculptured" The two rows of statues which appear over the whole breadth are described as "well executed, and superior to the usual run of such sculptures in subject, design and in execution, *there being no indecent figures,* . the figures are small,

[26] *Progress Report, Arch Surv Ind, W Circle*, 1919, *pl XXI*
[27] *Op. cit.*, VII, VII, pp 217-19 Italics mine

smaller than usual, in a reddish stone, well and carefully executed and probably once polished". The structure *stands on a raised platform*

K. N. Dikshit,[28] who later specified it as one dedicated to Mahadeva, describes it as "remarkable for a most elaborate treatment of carving and miniature sculptures in the interior of its 'mandapa' which covers walls and dome in extreme profusion." "Similar carving appears again on the exterior of the *sikhara* where the original facing still exists in the lower half" He adds the valuable information that the temple was built by Jajalladeva, the third of the Haihaya line of Ratanpur in the 12th century

Dikshit brought to light another even more interesting temple which "is reputed to have been built by the Haihaya rajas of Ratanpur", who held sway between the 10th and the 12th centuries It is the Kanthi Deul at Ratanpur in the same district as Pali It is thus described by Dikshit. "The temple, which is a later mediaeval structure of elongated shape (five units one in front of another beginning with the sanctum ?) square in plan and *two storeys high*, is surmounted by a tall *pyramidal roof of eight sides The facades are relatively plain, and the attached columns and pilasters, and the small 'mihrab'-shaped niches with which they are relieved, are curiously reminisrent of early Mughal design*" Dikshit has provided a partial view of the temple in plate XXII(d) which is only poignantly tantalizing rather than satisfying.

Ratanpur stands just a little north of the 22nd latitude and almost as much east of the 82nd longitude From there proceeding south-west a student of temples is inevitably drawn to a village called Markanda, which lies about 40 miles east of Chanda and about 90 miles south by east of Nagpur. General Cunningham[29], drawn there by his unquenchable thirst for antiquities, found what was veritably a temple-city like Khajuraho up north about 250 miles away He lists twentyone temples and gives the measurements of all, even of the three ruined ones among them The temples stand in a quadrangle 196 feet long from north to south and 118 feet broad They are grouped around "the great central fane of Markand Rishi" The whole group taken together Cunningham vouchsafes to us "forms, perhaps, the most picturesque group of temples" that he had seen, and observes further "They are neither so large nor so many in number as the Khajuraho temple but they are equally rich and elaborate, both

[28] *Arch. Surv of Ind. Ann Rep*, 1922-23, pp. 50-1 Italics mine.

[29] *Archaeological Survey of India, Report, IX, Central Provinces*, pp. 142-49. Italics mine

in their ornament and in their sculptures. There are no inscriptions to tell their age; but their style is so similar to that of the Chandel temples of Khajuraho and other places, that there can be little doubt that they belong to the same period of the 10th and 11th centuries A D"

The central fane dedicated to Markanda Rishi "by far the largest of the group is also the most elaborately sculptured". The painstaking Cunningham counted 409 sculptured figures with "about half as many lions and elephants forming divisions between the human statues" From the nice plan that he has given in plate XXVI we can see that it comprises four elements, the sanctum, the 'antarala'-vestibule, the side-balconied hall or 'mandapa', and the narrower porch arranged in that order. The spire-tower of the temple is a complete ruin, but that of the temple in the name of this sage's brother "is nearly perfect, and is a very graceful specimen of Indian architecture" From the general analogy and this specific valuation I take it that like the spires of the Khajuraho-complex those of the principal temples of the Markand group are or were decorated with miniature 'sikharas' so that the main towers appeared as if arising out of a cluster of 'sikharas'

Says Cunningham "*The general style of the Markanda temple is like that of the Khajuraho temples, with three rows of figures all round,* two feet three inches in height In each of these rows there are 45 human figures, making 135 in the lower part of the temple Higher up than these there is a row of geese, and a row of monkeys, and above these are four rows of human figures There are also many subordinate female figures, some dancing, some playing musical instruments, and one holding a mirror, while putting antimony to her eyelids *Several of the statues of Siva are naked, and so some of the female statues, but they are simple nude figures without any suggestive indelicacy, such as is only too prominent in the obstrusive bestiality of the Khajuraho sculptures. The attitudes of the figures are generally easy, but there is invariably the same passionless expression in all the faces, and Siva has just the same calm features when he is caressing Parvati, as when he is trampling an enemy to death*"* Cunningham was so much impressed by the "richness of sculpture and luxuriance of ornamentation" that he not only thought them to be rivals of the great temples of Khajuraho put up by the Chandela kings Yasovarman and Dhanga between A D 925 and 1000 but he also paid high compliment to the great variety and beauty of form which the Hindu architect lavished without stint on this fine temple. He was

* Italics mine

so taken up by the total performance that he concluded with the following observation : "One is surprised to find such a rich and costly building in the wilds of Central India"

Malwa Complex

Malwa with its famous city of Ujjain and the still more famous temple of Mahakala there, immortalized by Kalidasa by his reference to it in his lyrical poem *Meghaduta*, having been a regional unit of the Mauryan Empire with a viceroy stationed there, was a culturally advanced region from very early times The Guptas had attached so much importance to that region that for some time at least their *de facto* capital remained at Ujjain And the result of cultural activity and heritage is seen in the Gupta-age ruins that abound in the region, Deogarh, Eran, Pathari, Bhilsa, to name only a few places in the very heart of Malwa, having yielded important sculptural and architectural remains of that age

From the downfall of the Guptas upto the rise of the Paramaras of Dhara, Malwa does not appear to have figured importantly in the social and cultural history of the country But with Bhoja of the Paramaras coming to the throne about A D 1020 a tremendous change occurred, giving Malwa and its principal city Dharanagara a permanent place in the hearts of all Indians.

The greatest temple-building activity of the Paramaras of Malwa, however, had begun about a generation earlier D C. Ganguly[1] says about Bhoja: "As a conqueror, as a poet, and as a builder, he deserves a high place among the sovereigns of ancient India As a benevolent

[1] D C Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 82-122

monarch he had hardly any parallel." He left behind a reputation for learning and for patronizing it which even today vies with that of the legendary Vikramaditya. He was evidently guided in his career by the ideal of all good Hindus, which he immortalized in one of his inscriptions and whose frequent lapse has marred Hindu civilization. It reads: "Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two: one is its employment in charities and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame."

Twentythree separate works written in Sanskrit go under his authorship As Ganguly has suggested only some of them could have been Bhoja's own productions, the rest being written by "a group of literary men under his guidance." The subjects subsumed in these books reveal the nature and extent of the literary, scientific and artistic scene of the 10th and 11th centuries of Malwa, i e, Malwa of a century and a half before it was run over and taken over by the Muslims, or on the eve of the Muslim enthronement at Delhi They include architecture, astronomy, lexicography, literary criticism, law and rites, medicine, poetics and religion in general and 'Saivism in particular'[2] Fragments of a drama entitled '*Mahanataka*' of enigmatic authorship were believed to have been "washed ashore from the sea on inscribed slabs and restored during the reign of Bhoja."[3]

This literary and scientific flowering in the reign of Bhoja was not a sudden phenomenon but the culmination of the process of intellectual cultivation that was going on through two previous reigns of the Paramara dynasty, particularly in the time of Munja, the father's brother of Bhoja, whose valiant sufferings produced almost a novel kind of historical narrative in Sanskrit at the hands of a Jaina teacher by name Merutunga in the 13th century A D It is entitled *Munja-prabandha*[4]. It evidently excited other authors like Ballala or Vallabha to give us one *Bhoja-prabandha*, another being of the authorship of Merutunga[5]

Munja was otherwise significantly called Vakpati II, and two authors, of whom at least one is very well known among the Sanskrit writers on dramaturgy, lived at his court[6] They are Dhananjaya and

[2] M Krishnamachari, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 500-03, 750.
[3] *Ibid*, p 640, cf *Ep Ind*, Vol. I, p. 231.
[4] D. C. Ganguly, p 58.
[5] Krishnamachari, *op cit*, p 502
[6] *Ibid*, pp 163-4, 401, 746

Padmagupta. Dhananjaya's work *Dasarupa* is "a succinct treatise on dramatic writing . . . The excellence of Dhananjaya's presentation has gained for it a popularity which has tended to replace in a great measure the *Natyasastra* and it is referred to by later writers on rhetoric mostly with approbation" Padmagupta wrote what is technically called a 'mahakavya', i.e., a semi-epic poem of 18 cantos named *Navasahasanka-charita*[7] As the name of the poem implies it purports to be a biography of one Navasahasanka, who came to the throne after his brother's captivity and capitation in the Deccan, but introduces an amount of romantic and legendary element. About three generations after Bhoja, the Kanouj court under the Gahadvala king Madanpala about A D 1104-1113 patronized men of letters, the king himself being credited with the authorship of a lexicon, a work of law and rites, and one on music[8] Madanapala's son and successor Govindchandra, about A D 1104 to 1155, who was the greatest king of this Gahadvala dynasty, was very much engaged in wars Roma Niyogi[9] describes him as "one of the greatest kings of his time" and opines that "his extensive conquests and wide diplomatic relations made the Gahadvala dynasty for the time being the most important factor in the field of North Indian politics" His minister for peace and war Lakshmidhara wrote at his instance the compendium of rites and fasts and duties, a text on rites, named *Krityakalpataru*, which appears "to have been a well-known work in mediæval India", and "its influence on the succeeding generations of writers was very great" One later author Prataparudra by name, who lived in the first half of the 16th century, refers to him as Bhagawan Lakshmidhara, a kind of designation which in Sanskritic usage is applied to such epoch-makers as Panini, who fixed Sanskrit grammar almost once for all before 300 B C

About a decade after Govindachandra, began the main activity of another great Rajput king in the region lying to the west of Gahadvala kingdom He is Vigraharaja IV of the Chauhan dynasty of Shakambhari or Sambhar[10] In spite of his military activity this king is credited with a drama in Sanskrit named *Harakelinataka* or *Lalitavigraharaja-nataka*, a drama about Hara's or Siva's sport or play, by Vigraharaja the litterateur. Kielhorn, a well-known Sanskrit scholar of the last genera-

[7] *Indian Antiquary*, XXXVI, pp 149-72
[8] M Krishnamachariar, p 849
[9] *The Gahadvala Dynasty* (1959), pp 65, 230-1
[10] Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 1959, pp 56-65, 269, M. Krishnamachariar, *op cit*, p 643

tion, editing the work[11], remarked: ". . . actual and undoubted proof is here afforded of the fact that Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti for poetical fame." The play is inscribed on stone and is dated A.D. 1153.

About one generation after Vigraharaja IV of the Chauhans lived the last of the great Gahadvalas, Jayaccandra[12], A D. 1170 - c. 1194. In the cultural field of pure literature, his reign, undoubtedly towers above all the post-Yasovarman monarchs of India, being noted for the career of Shriharsha, the great poet and monistic philosopher. Shriharsha's father lived at the court of the great king Vijayachandra; but having suffered defeat in a poetic competition he retired from public life exhorting his son to avenge his defeat. Shriharsha as a protégé of Jayaccandra composed *Naishadhacharita*, which is one of the five acknowledged 'maha-kavyas', semi-epic poems, enriching Sanskrit literature It deals with the ever charming tale of the love of Nala and Damayanti and of their marriage It is significant that this poem in the form it has come down to us should stop with the description of the conjugal pleasures of the couple. The poet has mentioned several other works of his of which at present only the philosophical work named *Khandanakhandakhadya*, which is a treatise in support of the monistic philosophy of Sankaracharya through a destructive criticism of the views of some authors opposed to that doctrine, is extant.

How difficult and yet popular the poem *Naishadhacharita* was and has been can be judged from the fact that there are recorded no less than 33 commentaries in Sanskrit on it, the second earliest being perhaps that of Chandu Pandit written in A D. 1296 Handiqui describes *Naishadha-charita* as "the last great poem of Sanskrit literature" and as "famous for the lyric flow of its diction." At the end of his excellent translation of the text in Appendix I, Handiqui has given a succinct summary of important philosophical doctrines Shriharsha has dealt with in the poem I shall quote here one sentence which clearly brings out the dynamic greatness of Shriharsha as a philosopher of the monistic school of Vedanta He says: ". . Shriharsha's definition of the Advaita-tattva, though apparently based on the Gaudapadakarika, looks like an adaptation of the Madhyamika definition of the Ultimate Reality "[13] Dr.

[11] *Indian Antiquary*, XIX, p 215 , XX, 210 ff

[12] Roma Niyogi, *The Gahadvala Dynasty*, pp. 29, 99, 102-119, 232; M Krishnamachariar, pp. 177-83

[13] K. K. Handiqui, *Naishadhacharita of Sriharsha* (2nd Ed), pp. XVII, 507-36, 532.

Ganganath Jha's[14] description of Shriharsha as the author of *Khandana-khandakhadya* as "the greatest of Indian dialectitians" should convince anyone that neither Sanskrit poetry nor Sanskrit philosophical thought had its springs drying up about the end of the 12th century in Northern India in general and in Rajput-dominated region in particular.

Next we have to turn to the Paramaras of Malwa to meet another distinguished king in the person of Arjunavarman, A D 1210 to 1218, in the declining age of the Paramara dynasty One Madana who was the preceptor of the king who himself was a poet of note, composed a drama named *Parijata-manjari* or *Vijayasri* commemorating Arjunavarman's victory over a Gujarat king It was engraved on a slab of stone in the Bhojasala at Dhar in A D 1213 The engraving supplied only two of the four acts of the complete play. It was enacted in the temple of Sarasvati which was evidently built by Bhoja

The region of Malwa has yielded one of the most exquisite pieces of sculpture and is known to have been executed by a sculptor, who is named as Manathala and described as "famous", at the order of the great king Bhoja in A D 1034[15] We know that this great Paramara monarch had established a school or college known as Bhojasala at Dhar

The piece of sculpture is a statue of Sarasvati deposited in the British Museum D C Ganguly, a well-known student of Indian art, has heaped high praise on it and Gopinath Rao has described it in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* D R Bhandarkar drew our attention to the temple of Sarasvati mentioned in the drama *Parijata-manjari*, a drama "of extreme beauty inscribed on stone at Dhara in A D 1213"

The Paramaras were considerable builders, though evidently not as great as the Chandelas, but what they lack in numbers they make up for by the individuality of the style of their temple-architecture and by the creation of the earliest historically recorded monumental architecture of semi-religious and civil nature To have resisted the temptation of imitating the great masterpieces of Chandela architecture of two or three generations and also of contemporary importance speaks volumes for the aesthetic and intellectual individuality of this great Rajput house of mediaeval India

At Gyraspur, which, in Bhopal territory, lies about 20 miles almost east of Bhilsa and about 40 miles north-east of Bhopal, there is, in the

[14] *Shankara Vedanta*, 1939, p 207

[15] D. C Ganguly, *op. cit*, pp 271-2, M Krishnamachariar, *op cit*, pp 647-48.

words of Fergusson[16], "a very grand old temple" apparently built between the 10th and the 12th centuries. Beglar[17] speaks of it as "the large" or "the great" temple. The temple which is "built with its back against the solid rock ; in fact, the rock has been cut into shape to fit the temple" and stands on "a great platform, partly obtained by cutting away the sloping hillside to a level, and partly by building up an immense revetment on the hillside lower down to support the front of the platform ; the revetment is very high and massive, built of rough blocks of stone without cementing material of any kind , the wall slopes upwards ; *this great revetment adds greatly to the effect of the temple* as seen from below the hill " Beglar, describing the platform as the "majestic plinth" tells us that when viewed from a great distance the whole temple can be seen and "forms a singularly beautiful picture."

The temple known as Maladevi Temple[18], according to Beglar, is larger than any of the temples at Khajuraho Its interior arrangements are characterized "as no less remarkable than the exterior", the 'mandapa' being "a long hall divided by two longitudinal rows of pillars into a nave and two aisles " Beglar[19] considers it to be more or less contemporaneous with the Gadarmal temple at Pathari, which lies about 30 miles east of north of it, i e, before the 11th century and probably about the end of the 9th century

The Gadarmal temple described by Beglar[20] as "the great temple" and "the most interesting and important relic of old times" in Pathari, consists of "a cella, with the usual other portions in front, as in the examples at Khajuraho, the one peculiarity of it being that its cella is oblong and not square as those of the Khajuraho specimens The completion in plan of this structure is the result of later extension of an original early temple." In this completion it was given a gate-way which Beglar describes as "superb" Beglar has not only provided a plan of the temple (pl. VIII) but has also given fine drawings in plates IX-XI to illustrate the pillars used in the various parts of the structure

About 10 miles to the south-west of Pathari is Udaypur, sometimes seen on the maps as Udaipur, in Gwalior territory There Beglar[21] came

[16] *Op cit*, II, p. 55
[17] *Arch Surv. Rep.* VII, pp 90-3. Italics mine.
[18] M. B Garde, *op cit*, p 91
[19] *Loc cit*, p 75.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp 69, 74-5. M B Garde, *op cit*, p 53, has fixed the location of this temple as at Badoh, 2 miles away from Pathari
[21] *Op cit.*, pp 81-7 Italics mine.

across some temples, of which one is described as "great and particularly interesting . . from the exquisite beauty, singularity and size of its various parts and of the whole, and from legends connected with it". Inscriptions on its wall fix its date as A.D 1059 Later scholars both on the ground of style and on the identification of Udayaditya Parmar ascribe it to the end of the 11th century. Tradition asserts that it was built by Raja Udayajit of Dharanagar, a Parmar Rajput and that it miraculously withstood the wrath of Aurangzeb

The temple is built of red sandstone and *stands in the centre of a large paved and raised platform* on all sides of which there were "walls" provided with seats sloping back (plate VII) Surrounding the temple stood seven minor temples. Beglar describes the temple as "singularly beautiful both in plan and in elevation and opines that "although large, the parts are so well proportioned, that it does not look large . the execution is fully equal to, if not superior to, any other ancient temple I have seen" The sculpture is "rather commonplace" *but not so obtrusively obscene, the obscene ones being 'confined to the minor bands or rows of small figures" and thus not being conspicuous* "It is in excellence of execution of the floral sculptured ornamentation", however, "that this temple surpasses all others" The pillars in the interior though "singularly massive" are "yet beautiful" Their use to support "the great heavy dome" of the 'mandapa'-hall "conveys an idea of strength and stability, combined with beauty which is unsurpassed The *great dome is formed of overlapping courses of stones, ranged in successive diminishing circles over each other" and shows twelve internal ribs* "each composed of *exquisitely sculptured females*", which *"at once adorn and strengthen this beautiful roof"* Thus adorned and as it were vivified by the sculptures, the dome rests on the massive pillars below, *"forming a whole of unsurpassed beauty and harmony"* The 'sikhara'-tower over the sanctum "differs materially both in plan and external elevation from the examples at Khajuraho"

D. C. Ganguly[22] has obliged us by furnishing two items of additional and very important information First, he tells us that "immediately after the conquest of Udayapur, Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (A D 1325) is said to have ordered this structure to be blown up" but the secret damping of the gun powder heaped up for the purpose rendering it ineffective, the structure stood in spite of the firing and the Sultan taking it for a miracle revoked his order of demolition The other piece of information

[22] *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp 258-9

bespeaks the high valuation of the temple in the 16th century, an inscription of that age describing it "as the most beautiful temple in India".

In the back-view of the temple one can clearly see a human being sitting as if on a chair just on the top end of the 'shikhara'-tower. M. B. Garde[23] has given us the local explanation which does not clear the enigma

Un, a village close to the Bombay Agra road, situated eighteen miles west of Khargaon and about sixty miles from Sanawad Station in Nimar District, is described by Ganguly[24] as an old town which is "with the exception of Khajuraho the only place in Northern India where we find so many (eight or nine) temples together" which are intact.[25] He further opines that "they resemble the Khajuraho group in form and plan". One of the temples bears an inscription of the Paramara king Udayaditya (A D 1059-86), the builder of the great temple at Udayapur. The temples figured in the Progress Report show quite clearly that their 'shikharas' resemble that of the great temple at Udayapur.

The Chaubara Deva is the largest temple of the group The name too appears to be significant like the Chanmukha temples of the Jainas. It consists only of a sanctum and a 'mandapa', which has three porches on three sides, of which the front one is the largest and forms the entrance. Appropriately it is "the most elegantly carved temple" The 'mandapa' is roofed over by a dome Both the dome and the pillars are "remarkable for their minute carving and beautiful designs"

Ganguly speaks of the whole plan and workmanship of the 'mandapa' as "reminiscent of the Tejahpala temple on Mount Abu" If that is so then the honour of priority of such plan and workmanship goes to the architects and sculptors of the Paramaras of Malwa and Dhara and not to those of the Solanki Rajputs and Saurashtra and Gujarat. For the temple of Tejahpala at Mount Abu was consecrated in A D. 1230, i e., a whole century and a half after the Chaubara Deva temple must have been put up "The porch", too, "is exquisitely carved and the style reminds one of the larger Sasbahu temple of Gwalior" The portion of the dome of *Garbhagriha* which is still existing bears some erotic scenes.[26]

Its ornamentation which reveals a speciality of the regional and dynastic architectural variety may briefly be described in the words of Ganguly thus: "The lintel of the door facing the 'mandapa' is very well

[23] *Op cit*, pp. 136-37.
[24] *Op cit*, p. 264
[25] *Progress Report, Arch. Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1919, pp. 62-3 and plates XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

carved, and consists of the figures of Ganesa, Brahma, Siva, Visnu and Sarasvati (this is a remarkable variation proclaiming a different 'Panchayatana' or pentad of deities[27] from the one that was elsewhere then established and has since remained the only standard one, i e, Surya, Ganesa, Vishnu and Siva and Devi, i e, Shakti) On the northern wall of the passage are engraved the inscription of Udayaditya and a 'Sarpa-bandha' (entwined snakes), similar to that on Bhoja's school at Dhara On the lintel of the door at the other end are representations of Siva and the seven mothers, all in dancing attitudes"

Another temple situated in the interior of the village known as Nilakanthesvara Mahadeva which Ganguly describes as "this magnificent temple" though in a highly ruinous condition not only establishes its relationship with the other temple like the Chaubara Deva by the few sculptures still intact but also adds to our knowledge of the deity complex in vogue at the place and what is more important from the viewpoint of architectural style enables us to have some idea of the ornamentation and form of the *sikhara*

As Ganguly[28] points out, "there are four finely decorated (longitudinal) bands on the external surface of the Sikhara and sanctum, each containing niches, in which lie the images of Camunda, Natesa and Tripurari The intervening spaces between the bands are covered with miniature rows (longitudinally placed) of Sikharas" The carvings on the *sikhara* and the walls of the cella "equal, if they do not excel, those of the Khajuraho temples"[29]

Another place where a number of Paramara temple-ruins have been located is Nemawar, ancient Narmadapura, which lies twelve miles from Harda station in Hoshangabad District[30] The Siddhanatha or Siddhesvara temple which Ganguly again characterizes as "the magnificent temple", and which to one's pleasant surprise stands whole and complete, must be "dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries A D" Two inscriptions on the pillars of its 'mandapa' record the visits of some pilgrims in A D 1196 and 1224

[27] See my *Gods and Men*

[28] *Op cit*, p 365, *Prog Rep Arch Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1919, plate XIX

[29] *A S I Ann Rep* 1918-19, p 17

[30] Ganguly, *op cit*, pp 266-68, and *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1921, pp 98-106 N B The Director of Archaeology, however, places Nemawar in Dewas District of Madhya Pradesh (*Archaeology in India* 1959-60, p 83 In Pl LXXIV of the same the backside view of the structure is the best that I have seen)

From the fact that the sanctum is built in yellowish-grey stone while the 'mandapa' is in "bluish sandstone" it is inferred that the latter is a later addition though made before the visit of the pilgrim who has obligingly left the year of his visit as A D 1196. Ganguly informs us of some structures on the top. The dome over the 'mandapa', according to Ganguly, "presents a gorgeous spectacle like that of the Mount Abu Vimala temple". The Vimala temple, a Jaina building, is known to have been consecrated in A D. 1031. This Hindu temple of Nemawar cannot necessarily be claimed as its contemporary much less as its predecessor Between the adjacent projections of the sanctum there are "five recessed corners", each of which support one longitudinal row of miniature 'sikharas'* placed one over the other All round the plinth of the 'garbha-graha' (sanctum) is a large number of niches, "containing altogether ninetynine semi-divine figures" The temple has been pronounced to be "one of the finest temples in the whole of India" [31]

At least two temples, one in ruins and the other more or less complete, have been reported from Bhojpur a place in Bhopal territory not very far from Bilsa (?). H Cousens[32] wrote about the temple in ruins as "a colossal temple" The only remains of the structure he found was the door of the sanctum Perhaps it is the biggest door of any Hindu building known, as it measures 30 feet high and 15 feet broad The other is the "large temple of Siva known as Bhojesvara, which was evidently named after the great King Bhoja". Ganguly acknowledges it as a structure of the eleventh or twelfth century From Ganguly's description it appears to be only a sanctum cruciform in plan without "re-entrant angles" as in other temples and perhaps with a built-in entrance porch The exterior measurements make it a square of 66 feet sides leaving out the projecting balconies (?) The roof is said to be "an incomplete dome" (?) supported on "four massive pillars" 40 feet high and is described as "magnificent and carved with rich designs" The balconies on the three sides are supported on "massive brackets and four decorated pillars" each. The temple is described as "incomplete and singularly beautiful". The speciality of this temple is that inside it "lies a colossal 'lingam' (phallus), seven and a half feet high and seventeen feet eight inches in circumference, on a platform made of three superimposed blocks of sandstone, twentyone and

* Each one of them must be considered to be a temple and not a 'sikhara' as it is borne over a pillar.

[31] *Arch. Sur. Ind. Ann Rep*, 1920-21, p 32.

[32] *Architectural Antiquities in Western India*, 1926, p. 41

a half feet square".[33]

Though there are temples in this region of Malwa, which to some extent at least approximate the type of temples at Khajuraho in the north or Jodhpur-Chitod in the west, the most important old temples of the region stand out as a special variety which is not at all represented in the northern group, and is so distinctive in appearance that it would have been recognized as a separate school if the type had continued to be current or even had continued till the advent of the European influence in the 19th century. But so far as is ascertainable today, the type, though it evokes admiration from most observers of competence and taste, has no example of it datable after the 13th century It must therefore have been superseded after the Rajput resurgence of the late 14th and early 15th century.

Before it went out of vogue, however, it spread over an area far larger than the region of its characterization, west and south, more particularly on the south where it reached as far as Pillarmari in Mahabubnagar of Andhra Pradesh[34] In view of this southern extension it is necessary to draw the reader's attention to the aesthetic resurgence and political expansion known to have occurred in the Paramara regime G Yazdani, a well-known student of history and art of the Deccan and further south, famous for his magnificent volumes on the Ajanta frescoes, during whose regime as the chief archæologist of Hyderabad the Alampur temples were discovered, dwelt on the Paramara extension and influence, while commenting on the frescoe-painting at Verula (Ellora) he had discovered His remarks, in our context are very significant and yet are not easily accessible I transcribe below the whole of the relevant paragraph[35]

"The most interesting pictures in the western porch are some battle-scenes depicted on the innerside of the architecture The drawing of the horses is most spirited (Pls D, E, and F) showing a great improvement upon the drawing of this animal at Ajanta, where it has invariably been delineated in rather crude fashion. *The figures of the riders are also remote from the Ajanta School, and more akin to the Rajput style, both in spirit and artistic detail* Fortunately, there are some inscriptions mentioning certain names Mr Hira Nanda Sastri, who was consulted about the date of the inscriptions, kindly informs me that they are in

[33] D C Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p 270

[34] *Annual Report of the Archaeology Department, Hyderabad*, 1926-27.

[35] *Annual Report of the Archaeology Department, Hyderabad*, 1927-28, p. 21 Italics mine

the Nagari Characters of the twelfth or the thirteenth century, which surmise, I think is correct, *for the Paramaras of Malwa wielded great authority in the twelfth century, and, as their name occurs in an inscription here, it is not unlikely that the battle-scene refers to one of the fights between them and the rulers of the Deccan The chief point, however, is that the close relationship to the Ajanta school, which is noticeable in the innermost fresco (Pl A), is gradually lost in the upper layers (Pls. D, E, and F), which apparently owing to the influence of the North, are more akin to the Rajput school."*

At Kanorabari in Damoh District a temple in ruinous condition has enough of its 'sikhara' *in situ* to inform us that it was of the same type as the typical Malwa specimens like that of Siddhesvara at Nemawar The important difference lay in this one having only three longitudinal rows of stylized temples, one on top of another between two consecutive central bands The base of the sanctum having no projecting angular parts, forms a roundish base giving the whole the appearance of a cone [36]

In Maharashtra there are at least eight places which have yielded temples of the Malwa complex, most of them in semi-ruined condition They are spread over from Berar to Satara with Ambernath near Thana to represent the Konkan coast The temples at Ambernath and at Sinnar in Nasik District have five longitudinal rows of temples between two consecutive central bands of the 'sikhara', those at Balsane in Khandesh District and at Sakegaon near Chikhli in Berar have only three such rows ; those at Jhodge in Nasik District and Simghanpur about 40 miles north of Satara have also three such rows but have in addition two thinner rows of very much more stylized structures The temples at Kokamthan and Ratanvadi in Ahmadnagar District are of the same general type [37]

[36] *Arch Survey Ind Ann Rep*, 1919-20 (pl. IVb) and 1920-21 (pl. VIIb)
[37] H Cousens *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan.*

Rajput Resurgence

In Northern India Orissa escaped the clutches of the Muslim invaders for some centuries after their rule was firmly established at Delhi bringing under its sway the whole of Northern India including Bengal Outside Orissa it was only in Rajasthan that for some considerable periods, one or two areas managed to maintain independence from time to time till they, too, were engulfed finally in the Moghul Empire early in Jahangir's reign

In Orissa the temple construction, which appears to have begun about the 7th century—I am thinking only of the extant temples—has a much earlier tradition We have evidence in Kharavela's inscription of the 1st century B C that even before his time there were tall temples with "gopuras" in that region and that Kharavela himself carried out extensive repairs to temples of all sects[1] But we cannot find any trace of them or even of their continuation The building activity begun in the 7th or 8th century went on till at least the beginning of the 16th century when "the first serious invasion of Orissa" by Muslims occurred We, however, know Orissan temples, of the 13th century, existing intact or in ruins as the last ones The only post-fourteenth century piece of architectural work known is an addition to the Jagannath temple made in the middle of the 15th century A D and images of deities put up in the 17th or 18th century [2]

[1] See my *Religious Consciousness*, 1965, pp 324-25

[2] Fergusson, op cit, II, pp 74-6, 103, 111, P. Brown, op cit, *Buddhist and Hindu Period*, p. 120, *Muslim Period*, p 403, Rakhaldas Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, (1931), pp 377-80

If there are no extant temples or their ruins, worthwhile speaking of, dating from later than the 3rd quarter of the thirteenth century, it is equally, nay more, notable, that neither Fergusson nor Brown should have reproduced any specimen of Orissan Muslim architecture or been able to speak of an Orissan Muslim style of architecture. Fergusson, in fact, tells his readers of "the handsome mosque built by Nawab Abu Nasir Khan in 1681" at Jaipur which "was raised out of the ancient Hindu remains" but evidently he has not found it important enough to be reproduced in any form!

In Rajasthan, or rather in Rajput territory including Malwa and Bundelkhand, among the specimens of temples, intact or in ruins so far dealt with or known, there is none constructed between about A D. 1200 and A D 1400 The first Rajput power to stage a comeback to sovereignty after the Islamic eclipse of Hindu dynasties in Northern India was the house of Mewad.

Rana Mokal of Chitod (A D 1397-1433), who ascended the throne in A D 1421[3], is recorded to have brought in some special architects for some work either renovational or fresh structural one in an inscription of A D 1428[4] The dated record actually mentions repairs carried out to the Samiddhesvara temple at Chitod We do not know when that temple was built But from such references to the importation of architects in the region, where, as R C Agrawala rightly points out, highly competent local architects and sculptors were known from the records of the next regions to have existed, we must conclude that Rana Mokal himself had embarked on extensive building activity And the revival of art and architecture occurred under the strong and valorous prince Rana Kumbha, who ascended the throne in A.D 1433 and ruled till 1468

Rana Kumbha's building activity covered both the sacred and the civil spheres, and the products of his latter activity are the best and the earliest representatives of the civil architecture of Rajput style * The intensity and range of the building activity of this extraordinarily endowed king—for as will be stated later his contributions to the sciences and arts of music and dance, of architecture and sculpture and also sexology, made through the medium of Sanskrit, were considerable and have been recently or are being now appraised at their true value as the texts are being

[3] Prem Lata Sharma, *Sangitaraja* by Maharana Kumbha, Vol I (1963), p 40

[4] Ratan Chanda Agrawala in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1957, pp 320-1

* I have intentionally left out of consideration the so-called Jaina tower of Fame or Victory at Chitod supposed to date from the 12th century as I am not satisfied about its date or description

published—can be judged by the number of architect and sculptor families recorded, by the quality of the epithets used about them in a number of inscriptions and in the Sanskrit works of Rana Kumbha. As Prem Lata Sharma observes [5] "The patrimony left by Kumbha in the form of superb works of art and grand theoretical treatises on the same would appear to be almost unprecedented"

The most famous and competent architect, judged by references in and from the authorship of an excellent and widely used treatise on architecture and sculpture named *Rupamandana*, and of another entitled *Rajavallabha*, was one Mandana R C Agrawala[6] has cogently demonstrated the untruth of a record purporting that Mandana was brought from Gujarat with great difficulty by Rana Mokal Mokal's 'sutradhara', architect, was Mana and the inscription mentioning his architectural work mentions his father and sons too In another inscription of Rana Mokal's reign another family is mentioned thus " the famous and wise Phana who is the son of Hada who is the foremost of all the masons, and who is the glittering ocean of the lore of mechanics and literature, etc, and who is a devotee of the illustrious Narayana" An inscription of about 15 years later while mentioning the two sons of Hada describes Hada himself as the Sun amongst sculptors, 'silpin' About the employment of Phana and Mana on Mokal's temple R C Agrawala thinks it possible that the construction work at Chitod was entrusted to the family of Mana, while Phana was busy at Ekalingaji and its vicinity Depaka was the architect of the Jain temple at Ranpur while Rama was that of the Damodara temple built by Kumbha's daughter Ramabai at Kumbhalmer

Mandana's father was Kshetra and R C Agrawala has cogently worked out his family tree for eight generations of competent architects That gives us the extent of the revival and regeneration of architecture in free Rajasthan under the inspiration of the valorous Rana Mokal, Rana Kumbha and their successors till the undaunted and unsubdued descendant Rana Pratap Some more architects appeared on the scene in the reigns of the descendants of Rana Kumbha but I pass them over, enumeration not being my aim

The great cultural centres of Malwa which provided a commendable companion scene of before the thirteenth century, or rather of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, were totally stifled, as far as Hindu-Indian culture was concerned, by the Muslim domination of that region

[5] *Op cit*, p 64
[6] *Op. cit.*, pp 322-30

after Sultan Altamash captured Bhilsa, sacked Ujjain and destroyed all its temples in A.D. 1234, though the Paramaras continued to rule there till they were completely vanquished in A.D. 1305 by Alauddin Khalji. The intervening period of seventy years was mainly occupied in wars with the neighbouring Hindu princes, north, south and west.[7]

The political resurgence sponsored by the Gahlots in Mewad and the accompanying architectural, aesthetic and even literary activity lasted till the second generation after the redoubtable and illustrious Rana Kumbha, who was assassinated[8] in A.D. 1468.

Kumbha's building activity in the religious sphere has already been mentioned His glorious achievement in the domain of civil architecture is the famous Tower of Fame which stands at Chitod quite whole and sound, jeering both at time and at the copy which his enemy and rival Muslim king of Malwa had put up at Mandu and which is now in total ruins It will be described later in its proper context. I shall pass on to Kumbha's literary activity, which, among the various branches lineages and dynasties of the Rajputs, leaving out both the Gujarat Solankis and the Deccan Yadavas, was fairly represented among them from the time of Yasovarman, of Kanouj, who patronized Bhavabhuti, to that of Rana Hammira of Ranathambora, i e, from about the 8th century to about the end of the 13th century A D.

The one and a half century that lies between Rana Hammira of Ranathambora and Rana Kumbha of Chitod appears to be singularly sterile in this field, even religious poetry of some eminence being conspicuous by its absence With resurgence peeping in with Rana Mokal's reign, as indicated by his interest in architecture, it is significant that religious development that had flowered just a generation or two before in Bengal, signalled by Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, had apparently seen its potentialities in Rajasthan, Mathura-Vrindavan the Krishna region of hallowed and tender memories being its northern end. And we witness the phenomenon of royal personages, a princess and a great warrior, devoting their energies, the one to sing and dance the praises of God Krishna and enchant the people, and the other to expound the intricacies of *Gitagovinda* with his commentary, and to write an extraordinarily competent and widely influential treatise on music. Mirabai, the princess whose devotional songs not only find their place in the

[7] *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, pp 212-3; D C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramar Dynasty*, 1933, pp 218-33

[8] Tod, *op cit.*, I, p. 338.

mouths of many an ordinary individual even today but also have been set to music of the best classical variety and have been sung by professional musicians Hindu and Muslim both, was the daughter-in-law of Rana Kumbha, the warrior king

To Rana Kumbha[9] are ascribed a number of works written in Sanskrit. About some of them like *Rupamandana* I have already stated the true situation of their being the works of famous architects, professors or/and practitioners of the art, like Mandana This work and others of the same architect-sculptor had influence for over two to three centuries as it was quite evidently been used as a text-book and a reference guide.[10]

The commentary named *Rasikapriya* on Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda* is by common consent acknowledged to be the work of Rana Kumbha Dr Prem Lata Sharma, who has recently published an edition of Rana Kumbha's great book on dance and music entitled *Sangitaraja*, observes about it. "There is no doubt the Sangita Raja will occupy the front rank among works on Indian Sangita Sastra and that its splendour and brilliance will outshine in several respects all earlier works on this subject" He was so well-known for his work on dance and music that posterity has attributed to him a commentary on the great classical treatise on Indian dance and music *Sangita-ratnakara* of Sarngadeva, A D 1210-1247, though, as Dr Prem Lata Sharma points out, there is no definite ground for such ascription She further informs us that the other authentic works of Kumbha included books on literary criticism, religion, poetics, dramatic composition, "music (in its creational aspect)", architecture and 'Kamasastra' or erotics

It will bear repetition to note the significant fact that one of the temples that Rana Kumbha built at Chitod, the one that is commonly known as Mirabai's, was consecrated to 'Adi-Varaha' or to Vishnu in His Boar-incarnation,[11] the special mission of the particular incarnation having been the liberation of the earth !

Rana Kumbha's endeavour of rejuvenating civil architecture was concretized in the purely civil structure, his palace, which even in its ruins is described by Fergusson[12] as "more grandiose" than the older

[9] M Krishnamachariar, op cit, pp 862-3; V. S Agrawala in *Sangitaraja*, ed by Dr (Km) Prem Lata Sharma, pp 9, 42, 47

[10] Haridasa Mitra in *Devatamurti Prakaranam*, ed by U M Sankhyatirtha, 1936, p 4, Ratan Chanda Agrawala in *Indian Historical Quaterly*, 1957, pp 320-28

[11] *Sangitaraja Maharana by Kumbha*, Vol I, p 63.

[12] *Op cit*, II, p 172.

palace at Chitod and as showing "some of that beauty of detail which characterises his buildings in general." More about this aspect will be said in the proper context. Apropos of the total artistic revival effected by this great monarch I should mention that Dr. Prema Lata Sharma[13] has added to our knowledge. She says: ". . . the faint lines of pictures on the walls of Kumbha's palaces in Kumbhalgarh, from which it can be inferred that the art of painting was not neglected by him"

The principal temple at Ekalingaji, the so-called Mirabai's temple, Mokaljika Mandira, and Kumbha Shyama temples at Chitod, not to speak of the Jain group known as Ranakpur Chaumukh temple, are the best known works in sacred architecture executed during this resurgence. The grand Ekalingaji temple is dealt with in its proper context in another chapter. Here I shall dwell briefly on the last two structures, Mirabai's temple as it has come down to us is not worthwhile commenting upon in our context.

Mokaljika Mandira stands in the vicinity of the famous Tower of Fame Only the 'sikhara' of the edifice is wanting The structure is 72′-3″ in length and 60′-10″ breadth, north and south

"The temple of Mokal is full of carvings and the ceiling of its central hall is tastefully sculptured in bands of fruit, flowers, puja-bells and figures of human beings and the lower animals. But by far the finest sculptures in this or indeed any other temple on the Chitod Rock, are sixteen bas-reliefs carved on octagonal bands of the eastern pair of pillars which support the domed ceiling of the *Mahamandapa* or great hall—the western pair being quite plain"

H B W. Garrick[14], the Archaeology assistant of General Cunningham, who was no friend or admirer of Rajasthani architectural achievement as is clear from his bitter criticism of Tower of Fame at Chitod, was so taken up by the sculptural work of this temple that he has further described the scenes sculptured in full detail. I shall quote here his description of only one scene which supports the observation about Rajput resurgence. Garrick goes on. "The fifth scene [on the south pillar] is filled with vigorous action, and consists of a musical festival, six male figures play six musical instruments, *all* of which are in frequent use at the present day, though some are found in a slightly altered form The figure in the upright corner beats a drum (*dhol*) with all his might, the next figure plays two bells (ornamented) ; a third figure is seen

[13] *Loc. cit*, p. 64

[14] *Arch. Surv. Rep.* XXIII, pp. 118-23.

clashing together a pair of cymbals (khasala) ; a fourth (in the right low corner) has a tambour-like kettle drum (*daf* or *nakara*) ; a fifth figure is semi-nude and seen in back view quite full, so that the instrument in this case is invisible ; the sixth and last figure of this interesting group is seen full to the front blowing a flute (*murali* or *bansi*) in a very animated posture as though he were dancing"

One of the eight scenes on the north pillar, the seventh, is the most interesting from the social viewpoint and its description by Garrick may advantageously be transcribed here It is, as Garrick says, "in all probability the most interesting of the whole series, and in its half a dozen figures gives us both a duel and an execution. The upper pair of men fight with shields and sabres, and their armour, accoutrements, etc , even to the knobs and bosses on their shields are most carefully delineated, and show that the manufacture of these articles has altered as little during the last eight [four] centuries as that of the musical instruments figured elsewhere The lower portions of this comprehensive and instructive scene shows a pair of kneeling figures bound hand and foot, while an executioner holds his knife to the neck of the male figure to our left ; but the female with him may possibly be a mere witness, though it is pretty clear from the general distribution of action in this trio that she awaits her turn of immolation "

The temple of Kumbha-Shyama is so-called because it was built by Rana Kumbha to the Vaishnava deity Krishna under his name of Shyama, 'dark' ; though Vishnu is always even in his Seshasayin-form depicted as blue in colour, and in popular songs, Rama, too, is described as blue or dark, it is only Krishna to whom the epithet Shyama is appropriated The graceful tall 'sikhara' tower stands high behind the roof of the 'mandapa'. Its three sides have each not less than three ornamental 'sikhara' projections on the central longitudinal band facet The third, the one which is the lowest and stands out the most, being the uppermost of the three, as is clear from its lineaments on the front of the 'sikhara', is of a type which is more like the top of the 'mandapa' than 'sikhara' This type may be first seen on the temples of Khajuraho, which, as in the Devi Jagadambi temple, have central projecting niches on three sides of the sanctum, in two tiers.

The facet itself is a projection jutting out of another such band, the arrangement making a narrow longitudinal band on each of the two sides of the central band Underneath this second band there is a third one, similarly placed and giving a slightly broader longitudinal band on

each of the two sides of the second band. Thus the facet of each side of the 'sikhara' tower appears as one of five bands, two of them as one underneath the other being on each side of the central band, which makes its presence felt only above the second of the three ornamental 'sikharas' projecting out of the facet. The front side of the 'sikhara' has only two, and not three, ornamental 'sikharas'. These twenty longitudinal bands of the four sides of the 'sikhara' tower are, as it were welded together into the grand structure to form the 'sikhara' tower of the temple with the usual 'amalaka' ornament capping the squarish top of the truncated curved pyramid. The sanctum-cella, to judge from the photo kindly supplied by the Archaeological Department and also from the older reproduction of the temple in Fergusson's great book (II, p 151), where it is described as the temple of Virji, is cruciform The beautiful standard Rajput style of 'torana'-arch of the gateway of the porch can be clearly seen under a magnifying glass.

What part of the grandeur and beauty of the Ekalingaji temple is due to this resurgence cannot be ascertained.

Syncretic Complex

Under the heading of syncretic complex I intend to refer very briefly to those Hindu temples in the region, covered by the previous survey and adjudged as under some Rajput influence, if not actually under Rajput dominance, which appear to combine elements from more than one variety of the Rajput school of architecture and/or domes over some part of the sacred edifice Such temples I call syncretic because their architects, either on their own initiative or at the direction of their master-employers evidently must have had in their minds the idea of bringing together varied elements to make a complex beauty

All of them, I think there is evidence to believe, hail from sometime after the middle of the 16th century and many of them are post-sixteenth century The earliest datable of such specimens are the creations of Raja Man Singh, the famous Rajput prince of Amber-Jaipur, who was a relative by marriage of Emperor Akbar and one of his trusted generals He became the Governor of Bengal in A D 1590, and then began to intensify the connection of Bengal with the western, the Rajput region, particularly with Mathura-Brindavan, which through Chaitanya and his fervent Vaishnavism or Krishnaism, had already brought Bengal face to face with the sacred architecture of the west It is during this close contact of Bengal with the West that Bengali temple architecture began to take its shape and form The western architectural practice profited by the

contact which led to the development of the curvilinear cornice and the roof ending in such cornices.

Beginning with Man Singh's activity I shall first mention the temple at Rohatasgarh in Shahabad District, Bihar, put up by him in the vicinity of another not in the same style. It is pictured in pl. XVII of the *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922-23 (pp. 37-38). It is not at all without significance for the appraisal of this structure that as Fergusson[1] tells us this Rohatasgarh is a place "whose magnificence" is due to Sher Shah Sur and Akbar, both eclectics in architecture The temple is evidently cruciform in plan Both the sanctum or the nave and the porches or bays, the projecting arms, are roofed over by domes, those on the porches being small and that on the centre, the sanctum, being large The domed roofs of the bays are supported by four pillars each. Two consecutive bays are connected by an angular projection of the junction-ends This is almost the only example among pre-eighteenth century temples of North India which has a Muslim dome for the roof over the sanctum It looks neat, perhaps elegant, but fails to impress as a noteworthy Hindu place of worship Man Singh as Akbar's favourite and an admiring supporter who being related by marriage to Akbar was naturally under psychological compulsion to buttress up his social self with things that should demonstrate his faith in the superior wisdom and ability of his Muslim brother-in-law He was, therefore, impelled by Akbar's zeal to carry a concrete lesson to the Hindus of the correctness of Akbar's new faith by enshrining Hindu deity in a tabernacle that appeared Muslim from its very look! But even Man Singh had to bend and suppress his extra enthusiasm and conform to Hindu form, almost wholly, when he transferred his building activity to the sacred and sacrosanct region of Lord Krishna's childhood, Brindavan!

About a decade or two after Raja Man Singh put up the Govinda Deva temple at Brindavan another Rajput chief is known to have constructed a temple at Orchha to the east, almost the easternmost boundary of Rajput domain. He is the Bundela chief Bir Sing Deo, who is notorious in history as the assassin of Abul Fazl hired by Prince Salim, Emperor Jahangir Sir Lepel Griffin[2], to whose work we are indebted for a good reproduction, nay even the very knowledge of this so-called "glory of Orchha", observes: "The first impression one feels is admiration for its wonderful style, and more especially for the magnitude of its proportions;

[1] *Op cit*, II, p. 288, f. n
[2] *Op cit*, pl. LXXV.

and this feeling is enhanced by its splendid situation upon the summit of a gigantic pedestal fifteen feet high. There is nothing of the pagan [?] temple about it, while the absence of ornament and the dimensions of the nave might cause it to be taken for a Christian place of worship." It is built "in the shape of a Latin cross reversed."

It has a porch with a dome surmounted by an elegant, pillared and neatly domed, open cupola which Griffin describes as a lantern. The other units of the structure are the hall, 'mandapa', and the sanctum. The exterior shows it to be a four-storied structure, having thus one storey more than the Brindavan temple of Raja Man Singh At the top at the four corners, square but what I should name as 'mitre-shaped' and middle-sized 'sikharas' rise gracefully on a square basis, which shows door-openings on two sides Each 'sikhara' bears on each facet a single miniature representation of 'sikhara' by way of ornamentation The hall or 'mandapa' is crowned by a big 'mitre-shaped' 'sikhara' and sores 100 feet high, from the ground level (?) It is heavily loaded on its sides with similar smaller representations of 'sikhara' by way of ornamentation, one above another and two on each side with smaller ones below and at the corners, the whole presenting the appearance of a clustered up spire.

The 'sikhara' over the sanctum showing at least ten latitudinal ridges and having only one biggish 'sikhara' on each facet for ornamentation and a small one at the corners, rises 150 feet high

This temple (pl. 80), though to my mind not such a fine structure as to justify the encomium of Sir Lepel Griffin, is important for our purposes as showing close affinity, in regard to both the type and the number of 'sikharas' considered proper, with far off Bengal, where about the same time or a little earlier similarly topped temples were being put up. Another significant point about this dateable and dated temple is that it does not have a dome even over the hall, nor does it imitate in any important particular Raja Man Singh's temple at Brindavan or show any mark of that style of architecture

Griffin has given us a beautiful reproduction of a temple at Tehri in Orchha territory lying about fifty miles south-east of Orchha and about 30 miles east of Lalitpur in Jhansi district (pl LXXXIV) describing it as "modern" To me it (pl 81) appears to be a much more elegant Hindu temple than the one described just above. It does not have the domed cupola surmounting the porch and has only one 'sikhara', that on the sanctum, though it, too, is mitre-shaped. At the base of the square,

from which the 'sikhara' rises, at the four corners there are smaller 'sikharas' of the same shape surmounting square bases of their own. In the space between each pair of these corner 'sikharas' there is a highly ornamented structure bearing close resemblance to the curvilinear cornices of the Bengali temples of the post-Moghul period.

The curvilinear cornice and its employment either in an arched structure or in a square or squarish structure, producing in the latter case an elephant-'howdah' type of structure may be noted with special interest. It is seen on many fine buildings in Rajasthan, particularly Jodhpur, Jaisalmir, Jaipur and Bikaner. And Growse[3] while commenting on the eclectic style of the structures put up by Suraj Mall and his successors, in what he calls the Jat style, says: "The Bangala, or oblong alcove, with a vaulted roof of curvilinear outline, is always a prominent feature in this style and is introduced into some part of every facade. From the name it may be inferred that it was borrowed from Bengal and was probably intended as a copy of the ordinary cottage roof of bent bambus"

When Growse wrote, the earliest example of this feature was known in Mathura to be furnished by "the alcove of the mosque built by Ald-un-Nabi in 1661 A D" and therefore he ascribed its earliest appearance in Upper India to the reign of Aurangzeb. But in the reproduction of the Tehri temple in Lepel Griffin's book we find it on a structure which is likely to be earlier than the reign of Aurangzeb. It also appears bedecking the throne in Shajahan's Diwan-i-Am in Delhi Fort[4] built in A D. 1627

Perhaps the 'torana' of the Muktescara temple in Orissa dated A D. 975, reproduced by R. D. Banerji[5] shows us a precursor of this feature in its development in stone architecture? The Draupadi's Rath[6] at Mamallapura near Madras is the still earlier archetype.

The front facet is treated differently as a unit with the top of the 'antarala', the connecting passage between the 'mandapa', hall, and the sanctum. All the four corners of the 'sikhara' are prominently marked out by their longitudinal and latitudinal ornamentation. The sanctum has projections on three sides, thus making it in plan a cruciform structure.[7]

[3] *Mathura*, p. 161.
[4] Percy Brown, *op cit.*, II, p. 105, pls. LXXVII, 2 and LXXX, 2.
[5] *History of Orissa*, II (1931), opp p. 320.
[6] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, I, p 330 (186).
[7] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

The temple of Laxminarayana at Bikaner[8] is known to have been built by Rao Lunakarna who lived in the first quarter of the 16th century. It resembles the Sachiya Mata temple (pl 20) and has the additional feature of a small done over the porch, and a very fine 'torana' arch of the Rajasthani variety in front. The 'sikhara' over the sanctum is fully in the Rajasthani style but looks rather slender and meagre on the background of the huge drummed dome over the 'mandapa' in front.

Another type of temple, which reflects modification more in the 'mandapa' unit and repeating the older multi-storeyed exterior of the Sas-Bahu temple of Gwalior or the Govinda Deva temple of Brindavan and showing a first stage modification in the 'sikhara', which we notice in the Sonagadh temple complex, is met with in both Jodhpur and Jaisalmir It is bedecked with small domed cupolas, occurring on the facets of the 'sikhara' as also over the 'mandapa' and by arcades supporting the superstructure of the 'mandapa'[9]

The Visveswara temple at Banaras, evidently built after Aurangzeb's reign and the temple built by Sindhia's mother at Gwalior are other examples of the eclectic impulse Dr Tara Chand[10] adduces them as examples of his dictum, that "almost every building of architectural importance erected in modern times, except of course those of the western style, follows the Hindu-Muslim style" Requesting my readers to look up Fergusson (II, pp 152-54) who has kindly reproduced both the structures in his great book, I shall state that the dome is the only item in these structures that directly calls to one's mind Muslim architecture The curved cornice at the entrance of the Gwalior temple, as has been sufficiently evidenced above, is no more a Muslim reminiscence than is its massed 'sikhara' One may add in its case, if one is so particular, the weak arches too But the total impression of the structure is controlled by the massed 'sikhara' which has about twenty-five fine finials, rising one above the other, to lead the eye vertically up to the finial of the total 'sikhara' towering above all.

The 'sikhara' and the 'sikharas' of the Gwalior temple, as pointed out by Fergusson, "have nearly lost the graceful curved form" and are flattish, the central one appearing without its finial as a truncated tallish pyramid rather than curvilinear pyramid or cone The same is not quite

[8] Gaurishankar Ojha, *The History of Bikaner State* (in Hindi), I, 1939, pp. 43, 112

[9] A Adams, *The Westen Rajputana States*, pp 166, 352.

[10] *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p 256.

true about the Banaras 'sikharas' and 'sikhara', the 'sikharas' the miniature representations adorning in the true Rajput style the facets and corners of the main tower. Their corners are ornately marked and the sides are well curved. Fergusson has kindly supplied us with the height of the 'sikhara' of the Banaras temple. It is 51 feet, not altogether a puny measurement for the size Fergusson, who appreciates the details of this temple as "all elegant, and sharply and cleanly cut, and without any vulgarity or bad taste" and characterizes them as "feeble", condemns the dome as "though graceful and pleasing in design, hardly harmonizing with the architecture of the rest of the temple."

On the pyramidal nature of the 'sikhara' of the Gwalior temple Fergusson is naturally harsher, his comments in both cases highlighting the baneful effects of lethargy and loss of taste which came in the wake of five to six centuries of Muslim rule in North India

Instancing another specimen of that degenerates style built at Ramnagar at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century Fergusson observes [11] "Since that time the tendency has been more and more in that direction, and if not checked, the probability is that the curve will very soon be entirely lost" Fortunately neither the tendency was so strong or general as Fergusson thought, nor does it appear to have gained momentum

The Surya temple at Jhalawar in Madhya Pradesh reproduced in plate 78 combining domes, domed cupolas, and curved cornices with superimposed 'sikhara'—ornament on the central facets of the grand 'sikhara' incorporating the longitudinal bands made up of a series of miniature temples in the spaces between two consecutive facets is by no means any evidence of lack of serious endeavour at structuring a beautiful sacred edifice though it may not demonstrate chasteness of taste The 'sikhara' of the Roopjee Mandir near Udaipur (pl 54) conforms to the standard quite well

The Sundara Narayana temple of Nasik (pl 58) shows a not altogether unpleasing combination of appropriately modified domes, big and small, with the clustered type of Sikhara in good Rajput style though not equalling temples like that of Ekalingaji.

Temples like the Jagadish Mandir at Udaipur (pl 57) constructed by the architects Mukunda and his younger brother in the reign of Maharaja Jagat Singh in about the first decade of the 17th century[12],

[11] *Op cit*, II, p 155
[12] R. C. Agrawala in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1957, p 330

and the Jagat Siromani Mandir at Jaipur (pl 55), from among the non-syncretic group, too, testify to the seriousness of the endeavour to produce satisfying curvilinear shapes, though with exaggeration of some elements which make the edifices, too crowded and therefore inelegant.

That is not to say that the grand majesty and grace of the Kandariya Mahadeva temple at Khajuraho have been captured in any of these later productions.

Civil And Memorial Architecture

Civil architecture in the form of houses and palaces must have existed since very early in the career of monarchy and therefore in Hindu India ; but the traces of old palaces are rare and such as not to impress nor adequate enough to give a definite idea of the plan and elevation. Non-palatial civil architecture, in the form of educational or domestic structures is well-known through literature or through travellers' accounts or references or through extant remains for the ancient period. But definitely Hindu civil structures from a time prior to the buildings put up by the Paramara King, Bhoja of Malwa, have left no trace. One, therefore, is filled with admiration to note from the remains of the two of the structures erected by Bhoja that the great king's literary and scientific endeavour was matched by his building activity. The two structures provided the material element for the nurturing of the intellectual atmosphere and activity producing works summarizing or expanding knowledge and thus helping learning

One of the structures is known to have been a Vedic hall for the reading of the Vedas. D. C. Ganguly's[1] description of it based on the archælogists' reports characterizes it as "a square building, the roof of which is supported by four massive pillars". The other was the original structure which in its later transformation is known as the Kapalmauli

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 262-271

mosque at Dhar It is still known as 'Bhojasala', the school of Bhoja. Besides inscriptions of the reigns of Bhoja and Arjunavarman on slabs in the wall of the mosque "a chart containing the Sanskrit alphabet[2] and rules of grammar, have been discovered here"

The next piece of civil architecture is provided by the monumental Tower of Fame, not to mention the so-called Jaina one of that description, at Chitod. There is a good deal of controversy about the specific Rana of Mewad who was the sponsor of it and also about the occasion So late as 1936 the contributor to the *Shorter Cambridge History of India*,[3] eulogizing Mahmud I, king of Malwa, as both a soldier and a builder and commending the Tower of Victory he raised at Mandu to commemorate his (supposed) success over Kumbha makes the following remarks which in spirit are disparaging though in words they suggest only spuriousness of Kumbha's tower · "The more famous Tower of Victory at Chitor is said to commemorate Kumbha's victory over Begarha and Mahmud I, but the successes of the Gahlots were gained by Sangrama Singh against Mahmud II, not by Kumbha against Mahmud I"

It must be pointed out quite emphatically that the tower is known as 'kirti-stambha', pillar or tower of fame, and not as 'vijaya-stambha', tower or pillar of victory As the Archaeological Survey[4] officer reported, the local name of the structure is "bada kirtham", the Great Tower of Fame, 'kirti', fame, and not 'jaya', victory The qualification 'bada', great, it has received in contrast to the Jaina Tower of Sri Allata which "adorns the head of Chitor" in front of a Jaina temple, which is more than two centuries older than this monument[5] D R Bhandarkar who reported on it as the Archaeological Survey officer, informs us further that in one of its inscriptions it is called *mahamerusri-kirtistambha*, "the Tower of Fame (styled) Mahameru" The tower was thus intended to represent the great mountain 'meru' of Hindu cosmology and cosmography and not to stand as a boastful monument of victory over a foe

Secondly, as Percy Brown states, it preceded Mahmud I's triumphal monument by a few years and that Mahmud's structure is known today only by the basement which is still standing, the superstructure having

[2] Ganguly, *op cit.*, p 271

[3] P 306

[4] *Progress Report, Arch Surv of India, W Circle*, 1916, p 4 Dr Stratton, writing a few years after Cunningham's tour (*Arch Surv Rep* II) Fergusson's first edition recorded the fact that the Jaina Tower was locally known as "Chhota Kirtham", *Arch Surv. Rep*, XXIII, p 103

[5] Fergusson, *op cit*, II, pp 59-60, P Brown, I, p 145, II, pp 34, 61, 63, 123, 125.

given way long ago! The originality and the technical competence in the service of the Hindu potentate were thus immensely superior, not to take into account the further fact, which will be presently detailed, of its conceptional and sculptural superiority of an immeasurable order

Apropos of the doubt the authors of the *Cambridge Shorter History of India* entertain about the Tower of Fame of Chitod being that of Rana Kumbha, it may be mentioned that it is almost a century ago that General Cunningham[6], unravelling the history of the famous diamond Kohinoor which went into Babur's possession at Gwalior as a present from the Tomara Rani of the place, gave some reasons to support the traditional Rajasthani view that Kumbha had won a victory over Mahmud of Malwa.

Both the much earlier Jaina Tower known locally also as 'Khawasan Stambha' and this of Kumbha's are reproduced by Fergusson (II, pp. 295 and 296) and by Percy Brown (I, plates XCVI, 1 and 2)[7], while Kumbha's Tower of Fame alone is reproduced in plate XXII of volume XXIII of the *Archaeological Survey Reports* The former reproductions do violence to the truth in creating the impression that the Jaina religious monument is broader or wider than Kumbha's Tower. Particularly has Brown erred in this respect, for in his text he not only does not give any of the measurements of Kumbha's Tower but also gives exaggerated and utterly wrong measurements or description of the Jaina monument Brown does not provide the measurement of the breadth of the monument at the base and thus confirms the visual impression his reproduction conveys by his silence about the actual measurement. Fergusson by giving the width measurements at the base of both the monuments has provided data for correcting whatever wrong impression the reproductions might convey The Kumbha Tower is almost two and a half times as broad as the Jaina monument, the former being 30 feet wide and the latter only 12 feet 10 inches Fergusson gives the total height of the Jaina Tower as 75 feet while Brown makes it "rise to some eighty feet" According to Fergusson the height of Kumbha's Tower of Fame is 122 ft. The critical Garrick[8], Cunningham's Archaeology assistant, has given us only the number of steps in each of the two monuments but not the heights in feet According to him Kumbha's Tower has or would have had 134 steps while the Jaina one has 69 He specifies the number of storeys of Kumbha's Tower of Fame as nine but says nothing about their number

6 *Arch Surv Rep* II, pp 390-91
7 Fergusson, II, pp 57-60, Brown, I, p 145.
8 *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, XXIII, pp. 114-17

in the Jaina monument. Fergusson, who, too, states the number of storeys of Kumbha's Tower as nine, assures us that the storeys of the Jaina monument number only five and the reproduction cannot give more than six at the most. But Brown asserts that the storeys of the Jaina monument are eight and nowhere mentions, not even in some laudatory comment he has made about it in connection with Muslims' Mandu[9] monument, the number of storeys of Kumbha's Tower of Fame!

Almost hundred and fifty years ago Col. Tod described the monument, when[10] its old dome, and not the present substitute, was intact He specified the number of storeys as nine; and Fergusson a little later emphasized the statement by further pointing out that each of them was "distantly marked on the exterior" To judge by the reproductions of the Jaina monument its storeys cannot be said to be so distinctly marked on the exterior. Recently Dr Vasudevasarana Agrawala[11] has testified to the correctness of the number of storeys in Rana Kumbha's Tower, which he describes as "a monumental tower in nine storeys of stately form, beautifully carved and loaded with sculpture".

For the aesthetic valuation of this monument Fergusson's[12] estimate, not altered even by Burgess in his revision, deserves to be read The monument is "like that of Trajan at Rome but in infinitely better taste as an architectural object [This comes out in the fine picture reproduced in Tod's book, volume III, opposite p 1820] than the Roman example, though in sculpture it may be inferior" It is "covered with architectural ornaments and sculptures of Hindu divinities", which fact, as D R Bhandarkar[13] pointed out fifty years ago, makes it "exceedingly important from the iconographic point of view" as "everyone of the divinities sculptured has its name inscribed below in Nagari characters", giving us "carved in stone, as it were, an illustrated handbook of Hindu iconography of the fifteenth century" and testifying, as I should add, the viewpoint here adumbrated that Mokal's and Kumbha's was an endeavour for cultural and psychological resurgence of Hindudom

Dr. Prem Lata Sharma's recent remark on this monument further bears it out She says[14]. "The large number of sculptural figures set on

[9] Brown, II, p 63

[10] Fergusson's description from the 1st edition of his book quoted by Dr Stratton as transcribed in *Arch Surv. Rep* XIII, p 104

[11] In Dr Prem Lata Sharma's edition of *Sangitaraja*, 1963, p. 2.

[12] *Op cit*, II, p. 59

[13] *Progress Report, Arch Surv of India, W Circle*, 1916, p 4

[14] *Op. cit*, p 63

the tower relate to Indian religion, philosophy, music, dance etc. and present an encyclopaedic view of Indian culture".

The description of the 9th storey given by Tod[15] almost a century and a half ago suggests how the new religious impulse of Chaitanyaite Vaishnavism formed the inspiration of such monuments. The room or hall is seventeen feet and a half square which is roofed over by "a vault supported on "numerous columns". In it "is sculptured Kanhaiya in the Rasmandala [the circular dance associated with Krishnaite sect] surrounded by the Gopis [cowherdesses of Vrindavana who were fond of him and of whom he too was equally fond] each holding a musical instrument, and in a dancing attitude." Beneath this scene "is a richly carved scroll fringed with the *saras*; the *phenicopteros* of ornithology." Around in the chamber "had been arranged, on black marble tablets, the whole genealogy, of the Ranas of Chitor ; but the Goths [Muslims ?] have broken or defaced all, save one slab; containing two" verses.

Dr Ratan Chandra Agrawala[16] has added an important dimension to our appreciation of the Tower of Kumbha. He tells us that on the fifth storey there is an interesting panel giving effigies of all the craftsmen ('silpins') of the tower Jaita who is called the 'sutradhara', architect, is represented as seated on a chair with two of his sons Napa and Punja on his right and another son Pama on the left.

Plate III at the end appropriately reproduces a fine picture of this significant monument. Almost exactly in the year Rana Mokal consolidated his position on the throne of Chitod, on the northern boundary of Rajput territory in Gwalior, the Tomara chief Bir Sinh Deo was preparing to declare his independence of the Muslim rulers of Delhi after the subordination of his peoples' territory to them for nearly two centuries. General Cunningham almost a century back brought to our notice the fact that though the great fort and the city of Gwalior were occupied by Muslims during centuries, all sources of information are silent on the doings that went on in Gwalior. One reason was that till the reign of Aurangzeb it was used as a strong and fateful prison to keep into custody, and to dispose of when necessary or convenient; such of the royalty and nobility as seemed to be likely claimants or challengers to the throne of Delhi or its prestige and power. This significant information is provided by the Arab visitor, Ibn Battuta and is supported by Ferishta's more specific mention. Ferishta has further vouchsafed a more

[15] *Op. cit*, III, p. 1819.
[16] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1957, pp. 327-30.

significant architectural detail He tells us that the first king of the Khalji dynasty Jalaluddin Firuz Shah "built a large and lofty dome at Gwalior for the use of travellers" in A.D 1291 and Cunningham[17] adds the intriguing information that the "*building has long ago disappeared, and even its site is now unknown*"

The independence of the Tomaras of Gwalior was however short-lived and they achieved whatever they did only through shrewdly prudent submission to the Delhi Muslim rulers All the same some of the princes of the line made themselves militarily and financially strong enough to be able to carry out very great works of religious and economic rejuvenation and of architectural and sculptural magnificence This means that the aesthetic resurgence whose onset Rana Mokal had proclaimed through his patronage of certain architects of the southern areas was not an aberrant and disconnected phenomenon but one much more general, and, if we turn our eyes to the East and South, almost India-wide

Dungar Sinh who ascended the throne in A D 1424 was the first of such princes. During his long reign of thirty years, the great rock-sculptures of Gwalior, which are all naked Jaina statues, were begun They were completed during the reign of the next ruler about A D 1473, i e., about five years after the tragically sad end of Rana Kumbha of Chitod had come about About 60 years after their execution, Babur finding them repugnant to his taste ordered them to be blown off But instead of destroying them his officers merely mutilated them And they stand there thus mutilated. Altogether there may be more than one hundred of them The largest, which proved to be big enough to impress Babur so much as to lead him to specify its height, stands 57 feet high, the length of its foot being 9 feet.

Gwalior fort is almost a unique site where so many ruins or so much evidence of a long succession of civil structures is found When Cunningham[18] visited Gwalior a century ago he noticed and noted six palaces, only one more, the one said to have been built by Humayun, being not traceable. Of these, four belonged to the Hindu Tomara kings and only two to two Moghul Emperors, the earliest being the one attributed to Raja Karna or rather Raja Kirti Sinh, who resigned from A D 1454 to 1479, and the latest to Emperor Shahjahan The other Moghul palace was known as either Shir Mandir or Jahangiri Mahal

About the last two palaces, those of the two Moghul Emperors,

[17] *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, II, pp 365-70, 381-96 Italics mine
[18] Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep*, II, 346-53

Cunningham observes: "The two Muhammadan palaces require but a short notice, as they are built entirely of rubble stone plastered, and are consequently quite plain and of no interest whatever as specimens of architecture."

The palace of Man Sinh receives a very brief notice and two illustrations (pl XCV) in P Brown's *Indian Architecture, Islamic period.* Fergusson[19] speaking of it as "the most remarkable and interesting example of a Hindu palace of an early age" and giving a few measurements of the structure refers to Babur's mention of the cupolas having been "covered with domes of gilt copper," and reproduces a picture which gives a general view of the palace of Man Sinh's successor along with those of Jahangir and Shajahan Lepel Griffin[20] has described it in some detail and in glowing terms

About the two 'court-yards' of the palace Cunningham says "In spite of their small size, however, both of these are singularly rich and beautiful. *The bold roofing of one of the open pillared rooms has since been successfully imitated on a larger scale in a fine hall at Govardhan*" About the plantain trees made of painted tiles with which the walls were inlaid mentioned by Babur in his appreciative comment on the structure when it was hardly twenty years old, Cunningham observes "The plantain trees mentioned by Babur still exist They are of natural size, but the leaves made of bright green glazed tiles are very regularly disposed on each side of the yellow stems, and the effect is consequently too stiff and formal The diamond patterns in blue tile, and the long narrow lines of the same colour, are, however, both effective and pleasing."

Lepel Griffin[21] lauding the palace of Man Sinh in the same general terms as those quoted here at the outset from Fergusson's account adds two new dimensions to that description, one being about electicism or syncretism and the other, though based on the first, being more about architectural technique He says. "A study of its ornament, and the variety of its details, reveal *the same electic spirit that characterized the buildings of Akbar.*" It must be borne in mind that this Hindu chief of a small kingdom, hedged in by a number of chiefs of Imperial or semi-imperial stature belonging to the faith of the Imperial House of Delhi, attempted syncreticism at least two generations before Akbar And as will be presently clear he did it in the purely Indian spirit and on a wider almost all-India basis!

[19] *Op. cit*, II, pp 175-6.
[20] *Famous Monuments etc*, pp 45-58, pls XXXI-XXXVIII
[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 48 Italics mine.

Griffin[22] points out that the pillars of the gateways of Man Mandir are like those to be met with in Telika Mandir of Gwalior of about three and a half centuries earlier The massive corbels and "the Dravidian brackets" in the southern room, *"so uncommon in Northern India, give it a peculiar interest of its own."* Another feature of this nature is the line of brackets which supports the corrugated eaves "in the shape of horrid demons, which give a Dravidian character on both counts." The final verdict of Sir Lepel Griffin on the building brings out the originality of the architect, the owner and the craftsmen Griffin says: "Viewing the palace as a whole, one is struck with the variety of construction as seen in the roofs, with the wealth and diversity of ornament as seen in every detail" (pls. 100 and 101).

Cunningham[23] remarked about Man Sinh and his palace: "He was also a liberal patron of arts, of which *his own palace, perhaps, affords the noblest specimen of Hindu domestic architecture in Northern India* In sculpture we have to regret the loss of the great elephant, and its two riders, which won the admiration of the discriminating Babur, the courtly Abul Fazl, and the simple W Finch* This man of high aesthetic sense in architectural matters had equally high talents in music just as his senior and more famous and capable compeer from Chitod, Rana Kumbha, had In that art, he was a proficient composer, as well as a munificent patron, and many of his compositions still survive to justify the esteem in which they were held by his contemporaries He was especially fond of the Sankirna Rags, or mixed modes, of which no less than four specimens are named after his favourite Gurjari queen, *Mrignena* [Mriganayana], or the 'fawn-eyed'. Those are the *Gujari, Bahul-Gujari, Mal-Gujari,* and *Mangal-Gujari*" [24]

It may be noted in connection with this valuation of Man Sinh's musical aptitude that he is credited with having established a school of music at Gwalior and that the famous Tansen, Akbar's great favourite musician, was trained in it [25]

Years ago Fergusson[26], true to his devotion to architectural studies

[22] *Ibid*, pp 50, 54, 57 Italics mine.

[23] *Arch Surv Rep*, II, p 245

* Cunningham refers to him as "the English merchant, William Finch" and mentions the year of his appreciation as A D 1610 He also mentions the admiration of a missionary by name Tiffenthaler who recorded it in A D 1750.—*Arch. Surv Rep*, II, p 353.

[24] Cunningham, *Arch Surv. Rep*, II, pp 387-8

[25] Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava in *Journal of Indian History*, 1962, p 8

[26] Op. cit., II, pp. 164-69. Figs. 356-58.

and to his keen interest in their manifold approach, gave us a short but very sympathetically critical account of the mortuary monuments of the house of Chitod-Udaipur. Indeed one cannot imagine how any student or writer who deals with Indian architecture with its rich and varied Muslim component can ignore mortuary structures. For the most impressive, the most beautiful and also the best preserved of the innumerable architectural structures put up by the Muslims in India over the long period of six hundred years are their mausolea, the tombs raised over their bodily remains, the mortuary monuments which they put up in memory of their deceased relatives or planned. A student or writer, unaware of any analogous custom current in the past or sectionally so in the present among the Hindus, would naturally be impelled by curiosity to enquire if the impressively impinging practice of the Muslims over such a long period had had any effect on their Hindu co-residents But strange as it may appear Percy Brown writing more than half a century after Fergusson somehow forgot to write even one word about them And let it be known to the great credit of Fergusson that he not only devoted five pages to the subject but illustrated it with three woodcuts of the cenotaphs of the Hindus.

Declaring the two cenotaphs from Udaipur illustrated by him, that of Sangram Singh and the one known as Mahasati, to be in the Jaina style of architecture he remarks ". . . though adopting a Muhammadan form, *the Ranas of Udaypur clung to the style of architecture which their ancestors had practised, and which under Kumbha Rana had only recently become so famous.*"*

Archibald Adams[27] gave us the first photographic pictures of some of the cenotaphs of the house of Jodhpur which is known to have given one or two of its daughters in marriage to the Moghul royalty. Col. Tod's[28] description of these monuments as Mandir, only a few miles from Jodhpur (pl. 101), in glowing and chivalrous terms whets the appetite of anyone who reads it But Tod's enthusiasm being too impetuous one is restrained from using that description as gospel truth for drawing conclusions in a controversial matter, unless one sees at least a drawing made by Tod or his draftsman. And I was in that tantalizing and rather harrowing situation till I came across a fine photographic reproduction of the most highly cherished and the most elegant of the Jodhpur ceno-

* Italics mine.

27 Adams, *The Western Rajputana States*, pp. 102-03.

28 *Op cit*, II, pp. 834-39

29 *Arch. Survey Rep.*, XXIII, pp. 78-82

taphs in Adams' book.[30] It is the 'Chhatri' or 'devli' of Maharaja Ajit Singh, for whose rightful claims, traduced by Emperor Aurangzeb, for once most of the valorous houses of Rajasthan forgot their private likes and dislikes and joined in a great effort to frustrate the Moghul in his wrongful venture

The noble monument raised to the memory of an exceptional Rajput is reproduced in plate 95 At the centre of a pillared open hall rise four walls supporting on their heads a graceful and tall 'sikhara' of the standard Rajput pattern On the four sides of the 'sikhara' there are beautiful projecting balconies in three storeys one above the other, each supported on trabeate arches made by four pillars and their standard multi-projection capitals. The top balcony is roofed over with a neat stepped pyramid harmonizing with the similar but very much larger roof, similarly supported on trabeate arches of the second storey of the 'mandapa' in front similar to that of a regular Hindu temple The graceful and free portion of the 'sikhara' towers above the roof of the third storey balcony almost as much as the height of the cornice of the third storey above the parapet of the first storey balcony The porch, protruding from the 'mandapa' exactly as in a regular temple, has a flat roof

Lt-Col Dr. Adams[31] writing in A D 1899 says about it "This is the most imposing of all the Devals*, it possesses much boldness of design, as well as great architectural grace and beauty"

A perusal of Col Tod's eloquent description of this monument along with its picture in our plate is sure to remind anyone who has read the Sanskrit play *Pratimanataka* by Bhasa, who must have lived about A D 200, of Bharata's description of Ayodhya while returning to and being in the environs of the city Bharata mentions the high top of a temple of Ayodhya which he sees from far and which on his entrance into it we know to be a sanctuary enshrining life-size and life-like statues of three or four generations of Bharata's and Rama's deceased ancestors

Tod[32] says about Ajit Singh's cenotaph "On ascending the terrace

[30] *Loc cit*, plate opposite p 102 There is a reproduction of the monument in Gaurishankar H Ojha's *History of Jodhpur State* (in Hindi), too, but it is not so neat and clear

[31] *Op cit*, p 103

* Garrick, *Arch Surv Rep*, XXIII, p 75, f n 1, says that "deoli" ['Dewal' of Adams] is "the grandest description of memorial building often three storeys high These "devlis have steeples and are erected on the same lines as *mandir*, or idol temple" and that "thara" is the name given to the humblest description of cenotaph "

[32] *Op cit*, II, pp 835-36

you enter through a lofty vaulted porch supported by handsome columns to the sanctum, which is a pyramidal temple, four storeys in height, in the Saivite style, crowned by the *sikhara* and *kalas*. . . The sculptured ornaments are worthy of admiration, both for their design and effect; and the numerous columns on the basement, and different stages of ascent, give an air of so much majesty that one might deem these monuments more fitting sculpture for the Egyptian Cheops than a shrine—over what? not even the ashes of the desert king, which were consigned in an urn to the bosom of the Ganges"

General Cunningham's Archaeology Assistant, H B W. Garrick[83] no friend of Rajasthani architecture as his rather depreciatory remarks on Rana Kumbha's Tower of Fame show, visiting the area and inspecting the series of mortuary monuments observes: "If we were to judge from this cenotaph of Raja Ajit, *there can be little doubt that architecture had reached a very high point of excellence in Marwar* 158 *years ago, when it was erected* Though the carvings individually are no better than those on the old cenotaph of the Rao Ganga on Pash Kunda [our plate 97], *nor indeed than those on some others forming the line below*, the design of Ajit's monument is larger and more grand than anything in the neighbourhood"

Fergusson[84] dwells eloquently on the necropolis, as he calls it, of Udaipur, the capital of Mewad, describing it as "the most magnificent, and certainly among the most picturesque", of such places He says: "Here the tombs exist literally in hundreds, of all sizes, from the little domical canopy supported by four columns to the splendid Chhatri whose octagonal dome is supported by fifty-six . . . All are crowned by domes, and all make more or less pretensions to architectural beauty . . *it would be difficult to point out a more beautiful cemetery anywhere Among the* finest is that of Sangram Singh II, . . who was cremated on this spot in A.D. 1734 . . *The architect seems to have desired to avoid all appearances of that gloom or solemnity which characterise the contemporary tombs of the Moslims*, but, in doing this, to have erred in the other direction. The base here is certainly not sufficiently solid for the mass it has to support; but the whole is so elegant, and the effect so pleasing, that it seems hypercritical to find fault with it, and difficult to find, even among Muhammadan tombs, anything more beautiful"

[83] *Arch Surv Rep*, XXIII, pp 80-1 Italics mine
[84] *Op cit.*, II, pp. 165-7. Italics mine

Sacred Architecture: Early Phase

Orissan temples, to judge from the reproductions of the more or less intact ones in Puri District, generally, are not provided with a high platform to stand on Excepting the great temple of Surya at Konarak, none appears to have any plinth, at least not such as can be clearly marked out from the main superstructure All the temples, except that of Konarak, therefore, appear to be rising directly out of the ground level The greatest glory of Orissa and one of the notable edifices of India, the Lingaraja temple, as Dr Panigrahi[1] assures us, "rises abruptly from the ground level" About the Brahmesvara and Kedaresvara temples the same student states that they "rise abruptly from the ground level without a plinth or a platform." Both these temples are dateable as of the second half of the eleventh century Panigrahi[2] has stated about the Ananta-Vasudeva temple, whose date of construction is fixed as about A D 1275, and which thus must be considered to be the latest of the Orissan temples so far known and studied, the Surya temple at Konarak being dated about A D. 1250, that it has a high plinth. But the opinion does not appear to be correct. As a matter of fact the fine reproduction of this temple kindly provided by R. D Banerji in his *History of Orissa*

[1] R C Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, 1961, pp 52, 62-3, 173

[2] *Ibid*, p 64.

(vol. II, opp. p. 364) clearly refutes Dr. Panigrahi's opinion. The temple stands on a platform—and I have purposely stated above that Orissan temples 'generally' are not provided with platforms, allowing for the three or four exceptions that can be appraised from the available reproductions of Orissan temples—but quite definitely rises sheer out of the ground without the interposition of anything that can be called a plinth. Similarly do the gem called the Muktesvara temple and the exotic structure in the grand line with the curious name of Raja-Rani stand on a platform, that of the former being much more elaborately prepared and highly marked, but have no plinths. They rise straight from the ground-level, no plinth separating the superstructure from the level-ground.

The Surya temple at Konarak stands on a high platform and has also a high plinth. Indeed in appearance the base of that grand structure can almost pass for that of a twelfth-century Hoysala temple in Mysore territory And equally noteworthy or even more so is the existence of a whole tier of elephant-frieze in the plinth of this magnificent building. The need for such a frieze was felt so imperative, that the architects and the sculptors employed on the temple have executed it even in the portion where the stupendous wheels of the chariot-form temple stand[3]. This is the more significant departure from the rule of the Orissan temple architecture of having none of the basal friezes, which many times the Rajput architects and sculptors of Khajuraho, Jodhpur-Chitod, and Malwa regions, or the architects and sculptors of mediaeval Gujarat almost always insisted upon in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, because the usual Orissan symbol, so often seen on the Orissan temples, is a lion strident on a recumbent elephant and provides in the grand style and form the two side-guards of the long and high steps that lead to the floor of this temple from the ground level In view of the fact that the temple was not constructed before c. A.D 1250 and of the presence of the elephant-frieze, which was a universal feature of the Hoysala temples in the South from which side Orissa had already received political shock and intrusion[4], it is not unreasonable to look up on the two architectural elements, the high platform and plinth of the temple and the basal elephant-frieze, as exotics, new arrivals on the Orissan architectural scene.

[3] See illustrations on pp. 1, 8, 16, 57 of Vol II of R D. Banerji's *History of Orissa* ; P. Brown, *op. cit*, I, pls LXXVII and LXXVIII.

[4] Fergusson, II, pp. 108-9 ; R. D. Banerji, *op cit.*, I, II, pp. 369-82

I have purposely spoken of the basal elephants because I have noticed at least two Orissan sacred structures of the earlier centuries, of the 9th to be more precise, the Vaital Deul (pl 108, 110) and the Muktesvara (pl 107), on which elephants, not merely singletons but also in a sort of a procession and also as an army component in the former of the two, figure But they do so only on one or the other of the sides of the 'sikhara'-tower

Second feature that strikes an observer as invariably associated with an Orissan temple is the rather tenuous connection between the sanctum cella and the second element of a Hindu temple, the 'mandapa' or the hall, whatever its locally technical name Except in the case of the Muktesvara temple, the vestibule, technically known as *antarala*, is so attenuated and the gap between the 'mandapa' structure, which projects sideways a little at least beyond the side-lines of the sanctum cella, is so wide as to show up the back of the 'mandapa' as a distinct element There is no architectural device attempted to close up the gap from outside, the presence of which in two elements out of the three or in three elements out of the five, as the case may be, in the Khajuraho temples of Rajput architecture produces such a grandly unifying and aesthetically satisfying feature Add to this the fact of the absence of mouldings or courses which run continuously in the same line round the units, their mouldings and courses being at disparate levels (See the plans kindly provided by P Brown, *op cit*, pls LXX and LXXIV and the reproductions opp pp 320, 356, 360, 364 and 368)

The sanctum-cella has niches on the three free-sides but never any projecting balcony Nor does the 'mandapa' hall or the other further units, whatever their local names, have projecting side-balconies, though they generally have openings on three sides

A horizontal emphasis, in spite of the portly and soaring sanctum-'sikhara' edifice standing at the back, the fourth characteristic of the Orissan temple architecture, is made prominent by the nature both of the constructional and ornamental elements of the roofs of all the members of the temple-edifice The flutings or mouldings running horizontally, in an undulating wave both of projection and of recess, round the whole of the 'sikhara'-tower is hardly borne by the 'amalaka' ornament which bedecks the corner band and/or by the slender longitudinal rows of three or four miniature 'sikharas' flanking it or the central band. The finely moulded edges of the eleven or so steps of the stepped pyramidal roof of the 'mandapa' and of the five or so steps of the roof

of the porch, each with its upper and lower recess, too, force the eye to move horizontally round before proceeding in the upward direction. The total effect, even when the eye travels in the upward direction and rests on the thick bulbous and solid-looking 'amalaka', is that of horizontality tempered by verticality which is created by or erected out of horizontal layers being heaped up, one on the other.

The effect of marked horizontality is borne in further by another trait universal in the temple-edifices of mediaeval Orissa, the fifth trait, viz, the complete ending of all the bands of the 'sikhara'-tower, which are the agents carrying out the task of leading the observer's eye upward, under the coping squarish stone below the neck The only projections above the band-ends at the top are the symbols sitting smugly below the 'amalaka' in front of the neck. They do not connect themselves with the four or even eight bands over the tops of which they sit The marked contrast, which one can realize by looking at the reproduction of the grand Lingaraja temple (pls 105-6), the commanding masterpiece among the extant more or less complete specimens of Orissan temples, and that of either Kandariya Mahadeva temple of Khajuraho (pls 34-36) or the Udayesvara temple at Udayapur in Madhya Pradesh (pls 62, 63) or even the Saiva temple at Barolli (pl. 15) will convince the reader of the truth of my submission.

Even the finial, which in the Orissan examples is formed by the heavy though very finely corrugated single 'amalaka', overtopped by a pot or a vessel, helps the realization of the same effect of horizontality As against this feature of a single rather heavy 'amalaka' as the top of the Orissan temple-edifices, their sixth distinctive trait, stands out more than those of the Khajuraho, of the Rajasthan, of the Gujarat, of the Malwa and even of the Maharashtra temples of more or less comparable date In the fine Khajuraho-group of temples one comes across at least two 'amalakas', one over another; so, too, in many Rajasthan and Gujarat specimens In some Rajasthan specimens as in the Menal temples, for example, in the Malwa and Maharashtra temples, there appear two or three, one over and smaller than another, similarly corrugated pieces atop, so that by easy stages the eye of the observer impressively catches and retains verticality rather than the horizontal corrugations or mouldings of the whole edifice.

The presence of an 'amalaka' as the capping unit of a temple was considered by the Orissan architects to be so imperative that they provided three in a row, as the roof-capping, being in the Tamilian form

of a longish vault, their aesthetics could not be satisfied with only one such 'amalaka', over the roof-vault of the Vaital Deul The ornamental use of the 'amalaka', too, was so well ingrained in the Orissan tradition that, though rather incongruously, they were introduced in the corner bands, two in each, of this edifice (pl. 110).

The form of the 'sikhara'-tower, though it is generally graceful and well-ornamented—in the particular case of the grand edifice, the Lingaraja temple, it is nobly and impressively so, and in the case of the beautiful little gem of a temple, the Muktesvara, has an ornament which is exceedingly exquisite and unrivalled in the delicacy of its tracery in the whole complex of Hindu temples—can be distinguished quite easily from those of the temples of the West, Centre and the upper South-west It appears more as an elongated cube whose upper end is slightly curved almost at once at a certain height and not gradually The 'sikhara'-tower of the Western complex, i e, the Gwalior-Khajuraho and Jodhpur-Chitod groups, which is commonly described as paraboloidal, rises gracefully to get thinner and thinner slowly as it ascends and has a curvilinearity which pleases the eye, as it is gradual. The beautiful Malwa and the less beautiful Maharashtra complexes rear up 'sikhara'-towers which strike one more as conical than paraboloidal elements But they, too, like those of the Khajuraho and other groups of Northern and Western areas, have volume lower down, out of which alone the tapering 'sikhara'-upper portions appear to arise The Orissan sikharas, on the other hand, are quite clearly the upward prolongations of the basic sanctum-structure.

The front face of an Orissan temple 'sikhara' as also the front and the two sides of the roof of the 'mandapa', except in the Parasuramesvara and the Muktesvara temples, are bare, the animal symbol on the 'sikhara' front-face, facing the identical symbol placed frontally on the back of the 'mandapa'-roof, being the only ornamental element In the Muktesvara temple one can see an ornamental symbol, which is a complex pattern made with the usual chaitya-window representation in three tiers, the total configuration assuming a triangular form, figuring on the three free sides of the roof of the 'mandapa' This ornamental symbol, on the other hand, forms almost an invariable adjunct of many of the Khajuraho, some of the Jodhpur-Chitod, many of the Kutch-Gujarat, and some of the Malwa, Maharashtra and even of the Chalukyan group of Dharwar-Mehabubnagar temples In the northern and north-western areas of this vast region, the symbol, as will be clear later, occurs in a more prominent manner and a much repeated form. In some of the

temples of these areas the triangular pattern is massed, one behind and higher than the other, to a depth of seven such triangles, the whole making a very impressive and illuminating configuration.

The 'mandapa' halls of these Orissan temples are all closed except for the entrance in the front and the two side-openings, with niche-like arrangements, at the best allowing light and air through close-lattice work extending only about half-way down the entire niche. One misses here, therefore, those fine parapets, which one sees, rather more than half-way up the height of the unit, in the religious edifices of the Western, and Central, sometimes of the south-western and even of the further south area, and which bedeck the structures and invite the observers to a peaceful religious meet, offering built-in high seats with sloping backs to relax.

Approaching the Orissan temple one is commonly not greeted by a beautiful gateway tantalizingly epitomizing some religious episode and thereby evoking a proper attitude in the observer. Only the Muktesvara temple forms an exception to this statement. But the 'torana' gateway at the compound-entrance of this temple being dwarfish appears to relinquish the main purpose of such an architectural element. The fine gateways of the Western and Central areas, which have evoked high praise for their aesthetically satisfying nature, are dealt with in another part of this work In the matter of temple-entrance welcome-arch the Orissan temple architecture proves a total blank, not one temple having a kind of welcome-arch or 'torana' as it is called. Some of the Khajuraho temples, like that of Kandariya Mahadeva, have two such fine structures to delight and elevate the incomer, one at the porch entrance and the other at the sanctum-cella entrance. Some of the Chalukyan specimens of the Dharwar area, too, have such welcome-arches. The special form of the structure, its artistic quality and the very significant symbolism embodied in them are dealt with later. Here it is mentioned to emphasize the distinctive traits, in this particular case, the absence of a significant feature, in the Orissan mediaeval temple-architecture, to enable the reader to judge of the soundness of the proposition that in mediaeval India there was a distinct school of architecture, appropriately to be designated Rajput school, over a large part of the country outside Orissa, which was much different from the Orissan school.

Now that the chief features of the far-famed Orissan mediaeval temple-architecture are presented, I may with confidence pass on to the characterization of the school of architecture, which, I submit, must be

called the Rajput school, and not Indo-Aryan, as the features distinguished are, as a group and in entirety, observed in the temples erected under the aegis of various Rajput dynasties and in areas, as is clear from the earlier chapters of this work, under Rajput occupation and domination for many centuries

Post-Gupta age temples are few and far between, but of the few known to be of that age one is located at Chitod It is reproduced in No 2574/62 of the photographs list of the Archaeological Survey of India and is printed in pl 7 of this book Unfortunately its remains are more tantalizing than determinative But the little that is available may be made the basis for the start of a study of the indubitably post-Gupta age temples outside the area of the purely Dravidian architectural tradition and practice.

We can know from the Chitod fragment of a temple that it had a 'sikhara' but we cannot be sure of its shape But we can definitely say that the 'sikhara' rose on the top of the walls of the sanctum-cella, its start being clearly marked off from the top of the cella with the help of mouldings or cornice We find the wall of the cella formed by pilasters and recesses between them, the pilasters being raised high enough to produce deep shadows in the recesses The 'sikhara' too has offset longitudinal bands, the central one, which is rather broad being flanked on its two sides by narrower bands The three bands do not complete one side. However, as will be clear from the points that will be made in connection with the description of the chief characteristics of about two-thirds of the regional complex under the dominance of the Rajput school of architecture, it is most logical to treat the bands omitting the corners between two consecutive sides as the distinctive features for classification of the temples into groups

The corners, even though in the substructure, the sanctum-cella walls, they resolve themselves into and appear as bands belonging to and forming a side along with the other bands, almost invariably in the 'sikhara' superstructure they are treated as a unity The ornamentation of the corner of a 'sikhara' in the architectural practice of Orissa, of Gwalior-Khajuraho, Jodhpur-Chitod, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Dharwar-Bijapur complexes includes a representation of an 'amalaka', a longitudinally corrugated roundish element, exactly like the 'amalaka' which caps the top allowing for the circumstances of the latter being a free all-round unit, as a component of it, recurring at regular intervals all the way up from the base of the 'sikhara' to its top The top of all

'sikharas' is first capped and closed in such a manner that it reflects the offsets and recesses of the 'sikhara' in its external edges. This external edge, in almost all the specimens of temples from the areas mentioned, sits on the corners so neatly and fit that the corner gives the observer the clearest impression that the architect treated the corner as a unit and not as two separate bands distributed between the two consecutive sides of the 'sikhara' I shall, therefore, set aside the corner of a *sikhara* and fix upon the facing bands of it for classification into groups and then point out, if necessary, any peculiarity the corner may show.

Over this capping there rises a short or sometimes even a longish neck. And it is on the top of the neck, whether flanked on the four principal quarters by the ends of the central bands of the 'sikhara' or not, that the invariable 'amalaka' sits. In the specimens of the Rajput school of architecture, wherever symbolic figures exist, and the temples on which they do appear are very rare in this architectural practice, they do so only on the corner ends

These figures, if any, have to be accommodated on the corners in these specimens as against those of the Orissan school of architecture for the simple reason that in most of the mediaeval, or rather pre-fourteenth century, temples in the complexes mentioned, the central band, or the group of three bands making up the central band, almost invariably rises above the coping top and almost reaches up to the 'amalaka', as if to hold it aloft in the palm of a hand, ending there in a fine triangular finial This feature is so characteristic of this school of architecture that there are at least two fine temples in the Khajuraho group, both of them reproduced in this book (pls 24-31), which show not only all the twelve bands of the sides but also the four additional ones, shaped like the 'ketaki'-flower petal, formed by the corners, concretizing the imagery used in the description above This characteristic drops out of practice and is not met with in the temples of the post-fourteenth century era

The triangular element mentioned above may, for ought I know, be a stylized symbol for a sacred structure, a shrine. For many, nay most, of the earlier, i.e., 7th and 8th century temples of the whole area, comprising the half dozen complexes mentioned above, carry on the pilasters of the substructure, the sanctum-cella, or on the lower platform on which the edifice stands, a symbolic ornamentation, which is considered by common consent to represent a shrine. And that claims our attention first.

The earliest dated or dateable temples of the whole area happen to be some of the specimens hailing from the Dharwar-Bijapur-Mehabubnagar complex. The Kadsiddhesvara temple at Patadkal in Dharwar-Bijapur region (pl 5), which, to judge from its solidly closed and flat-roofed 'mandapa'-hall, must be earlier than the Papanath temple of the same district, shows a stylized form of the chaitya-window type ornament on the one pilaster it has on its side The Papanath temple[5], c. A.D. 640 has it on all the five pilasters of the sanctum-cella; and the seven such elements of the 'mandapa'-hall on the side that faces the observer carry this ornament, which appears to be a little more developed and less stylized The Brahma temples at Alampur, Mehabubnagar District of the Andhra Pradesh, appear to be the earliest to have this symbol in a bold, developed and distinct form, which is almost identical with, though not as much repeated or tiered as the one on the 9th or 10th century temple [pl. 18] at Keda in Kutch, or that on the Devi temple at Jagat [pl. 16] in Udaipur, or on the Kamesvara temple at Auwa in Sujat District, Jodhpur[6], or that on the slightly earlier temples at Roda in Sabarkantha District[7] It occurs even over the niches accommodating deities on the pilasters of the post-Gupta temple at Chitod, four such impinging themselves upon the observers' eyes in pl 7 which reproduces only one side of the ruined edifice There the symbol is only slightly less elaborate, being only in two tiers. The more elaborately developed form of the four tiers, crowned by a simplified chaitya-window and having lower down at the centre the simpler form of the symbol, thus making the whole a patterned design, appears on the niches of temple No. 7 at Alampur and is illustrated in pl 17 On the 8th century temples at Osian in Jodhpur District the symbol occurs even over the niches in the platform on which the edifices have their plinths The form of the symbol appearing on the three of the five pilasters exposed to the observers' view in pl. 1 reproducing temple No 4 (*Arch Surv* No 1036/64) is fairly elaborate and bold.

Ninety years ago James Burgess,[8] writing about the Siva temple at Keda near Bhuj mentioned above, described this ornamental symbol thus: ". . . the elaborate ornamental work on the face of the spire [*sikhara*] has been largely undercut; it represents the outlines of a

[5] P. Brown, *op cit*, pl. XLV.
[6] *Progress Report, Arch. Surv. Ind., W. Circle for* 1909, pp 49-50..
[7] U. P. Shah, *Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda* (1960), pp 99, 102, 105, 106
[8] *Kathiawad and Kachh*, (1876), pp 212-13

Chaitya window repeated over a triangular face, with human figures between. Of these triangles of sculptures there are eight on each side, gradually diminishing in size as they rise higher and higher one behind another . . ."

The Devi temple at Jagat in Udaipur District and the Lakshmana temple, the earliest of the Khajuraho group, dateable more or less to the same age as the Keda, or Kerakot as the Archaeological Survey in its new series has it, temple in Kutch, are the most notable among the pre-eleventh century temples for the profusion of this developed symbol. The Lakshmana temple (pls. 25-7) shows seven such triangular elements one behind and higher than the other over the projecting side-balconies of the sanctum-cella, three to five over those of the 'mandapa'-hall, and one or two at the sides of the roof of the 'ardha-mandapa' or the unit between the 'mandapa'-hall and the porch, and at least one each on the three sides of the roof of the porch. The Devi temple at Jagat sports, in addition to the symbol on the front facet, five or seven of these triangular symbols over as many stages of the stepped pyramidal roof of its 'mandapa'-hall, well spaced and separated from one another by a stretch of the roof, on the two free sides, and perhaps a smaller number on the side abutting on the roof of the porch which, too, carries a singleton or a duplicate element of the same symbol. What is more about the Jagat temple is that the pyramidal roofs of the 'mandapa' and the porch too, are decorated with halves of 'chaitya'-window well dispersed and posed, making altogether a pleasing composition. All these symbols in these clusters, however, follow the more pleasing pattern of the one behind another being not only the higher one but also the broader one, so that the last one, whether it happens to be the seventh, the fifth or the second, is the largest of them all. And this difference, as I examine the symbol in the various temples under study, is associated with the nature of its environment, i.e., the space in which it occurs.

Temple No. VII of Roda in Sabarkantha District conforms to the Jagat temple of Devi in the matter of the ornamentation with this triangular symbol, a developed and intricate chaitya-window pattern, and with the halves of chaitya-windows, in all respects except that of the number of the triangular symbols employed[9].

In the great masterpiece of the Rajput style, the Kandariya Mahadeva temple, which to my mind is the prince among the Hindu temples of all time, the triangular symbol occurs almost in as much abundance as

[9] U. P. Shah, *Sculptures from Samalaji, etc.*, p 109

in the Lakshmana temple but the total cluster pattern is more after that of the Keda temple in Kutch than that of the local predecessor.

Unfortunately the front-face of the Keda temple is not available to me for inspection but those of the beautiful temples in pls 15 and 16 can be closely examined under a magnifying glass I find that Barolli edifice does not show any clearly distinguishable feature on its front face but the Jagat temple carries the ornamental symbol in duplicate, one behind the other. As the upper reach of the 'sikhara' becomes narrow so too the second triangular symbol, which is behind and higher up the front one and is narrower than the latter The symbolic ornament is very finely cut out

In the less developed and cruder temples at Roda in Sabarkantha District, which may be earlier than the Jagat temple, the symbol in bold pattern is found to decorate the front of more than one temple. But the great Khajuraho group temples, some of which may be earlier than the Jagat temple and most of them earlier than the end of the eleventh century, tell a different story Only one of them, that of Matangesvara (pl 33), a curious edifice reminiscent of the South Indian temple roofs and the nearer to the Bhaskaresvara temple of Orissa, sports the symbol in clear execution on the front of its heavy-looking roof In the Khajuraho-Gwalior complex there is another temple, the fine singleton edifice at Barwasagar, some miles to the west, or rather west by north, of Khajuraho, reproduced from Sir Lepel Griffin's book in pl 37, which bears the favourite symbol solidly cut on the bold and imposing front

The triangular symbol, if and when present, in the Malwa variety of the Rajput style temples, occupies only the front face of the 'sikhara' tower, perhaps with a slight modification in some Thus it is clearly visible behind the beautifully squattish-shaped roof of the 'mandapa' of the Udayesvara temple, occupying the whole of the solid projection in the central band, carrying fine sculptures on its sides in two tiers in the best tradition and fashion of Khajuraho (pls 62-63) and also of the Siddhesvara temple at Nemawar in Dewas District (pls 65-66) The Mahanal temple at Menal in Chitod District (pl 67) similarly bears the symbol in the solid front of the type of Khajuraho temple-fronts, with the slight modification in the lower tier making the stylized niche deeper and appear more like a real small temple structure Further south, the ruined temple at Sakegaon near Chikhli in Berar had fortunately lower part of its front portion in good condition enough to provide us with evidence of the occurrence of this symbol in an even more elaborate form,

bedecking the front facet and filling almost the whole breadth of the band of the facet (pl. 70).

As far as can be judged from the fronts exposed to view of the so-called Mirabai temple and of the Kumbha Shyama temple at Chitod, or of other temples, reproduced in this book or not, excepting that of the historically famous temple of Ekalingaji, this triangular symbol or even its abbreviated form of a single, deeply corrugated or not, medallion type of chaitya-window representation does not make its appearance, or at least its existence felt

It appears to me that the tree-foil arch type of crowning frame of niche or stylized representations of shrines, accommodating the statue of a deity as it appears at the front on the top of the porch of the Ekalingaji temple (pl. 52) is a direct descendant of the complex and complicated triangular symbol, with whose appearance on the back side of the 'sikhara' of the temple at Keda in Kutch we started our study of the occurrence of this symbol as a characteristic trait of the Rajput school of sacred architecture

On the three sides, other than the front, the Udayapur (pls. 62-3), the Nemawar (pls 65-66), the Ramgadh (pl 68) and the Menal (pl 67) temples carry the symbol in the simplified form of a medallion-representation of the chaitya-window in deep recess, with or without beautiful scroll rounding it up from below and making a sort of a crown above, placed on the top of a projecting pillared niche. The same device appears on the sides of the 'sikharas' of most of the mediaeval temples of the Deccan, like those at Jhogda* and Sinnar in Nasik (pl 71) The Amritesvara temple at Singhanapur in Satara District has the same device in the duplicate form, one on the top of another (pl 75).

One of the Bijolia temples, which, according to the typology here attempted to be established, must be later than the temple at Jagat, has the single chaitya-window representation on the middle of the three ornamental 'sikhara' superimpositions on the main 'sikhara' (pl. 46). In the Sun temple at Jhalawar, near mediaeval Jhalarapatan, the main 'sikhara' on its central band carries only two 'sikhara' superimpositions; and the ornamental device of identical type occurs at the base of the second superimposition, the uppermost of the central band (pl. 78).

The singleton medallion-type pattern of this ornamental symbol

* For this temple see illustration in P Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu).

occurs in most of the Orissan temples such as the Parasuramesvara, the Muktesvara and the grand Lingaraja, in a finely and tastefully decorated form, executed, it would appear at least in the latter two cases, quite exquisitely, on all the sides at almost the base of the 'sikhara'. The Brahmesvara temple having the simplified form of the symbol in a plainer pattern on the ornamental 'sikhara' over the central band of its 'sikhara' (Banerji, II, p 208) resembles that on the Sun temple at Jhalawar, though not in the form of the pattern In other temples like the Siddhesvara (pl. 107), it is not noticed. In the Raja-Rani temple it appears in the simple and rather plain and solid pattern on the three fronts of the 'mandapa'-roof (pls 102-103). The Ananta-Vasudeva temple, the latest of the extant Orissan temples of old, sports the symbol most; for in addition to its appearing on the 'sikhara' sides, it is noticed on the three sides of the 'mandapa'-roof; and that too, on both the stages of the steps of the roof (*vide* Banerjii II, p. 364)

The Tamilian type of Chalukyan temples, whether early or late, and the Hoysala temples of Mysore do not carry this symbol And this is perhaps the second most important distinction in point of sacred symbolic ideology that marks off the late Chalukyan and the Hoysala temple architecture from that of the Rajput school, particularly that variety of it, which, in terms of geography, is treated here as Malwa complex but which, in terms of dynasties, has to be designated as Paramara variety.

Another equally significant difference between the northern Rajput school of architecture and the southern Chalukyan-Hoysala one is the absence of the 'amalaka' not only as an ornamental device but also as the capping finial in the latter, its domical crown being its finial As already made out it occurs as a persistent and consistent element in the mediaeval temples of Orissa

The importance of this symbolic and/or aesthetic top of a pre-fourteenth century sacred structure in all the complexes of North India, including western Bengal, is forcefully conveyed to any one who looks at the roofs of the front adjuncts of the sanctums of the temples in the region. The beautiful Ghatesvara temple of Barolli in Udaipur District has lost the crown over the stepped pyramidal roof of its 'mandapa' but has the roof of the 'sringarchauri', a detached structure in front. It is quite clear from the remains that not only had the central crown of the beautiful edifice been capped with an 'amalaka' of appropriate shape and size but also were the twenty or more structural components making

up the total roof of the structure capped with this symbolic unit. The Devi temple at Jagat in the same District had the 'amalaka' on the central position of the roof of the 'mandapa' with only two such additions on the roofs of the two corner buttress-connections between the porch and the 'mandapa' (pl. 16). The Mahanal temple at Menal in Chitod District sported the 'amalaka' on the tops of about 30 components, in addition to the 'amalaka' of the central top of the mandapa-cum-porch roof (pl. 67).

The great Khajuraho complex, beginning with the Lakshmana temple, similarly carries the 'amalaka' on the top of the roofs of all the frontal adjuncts of its temples and also on the components of the 'mandapa'-roof, wherever possible

Of the Malwa complex of temples the 'mandapa'-roofs are found in a condition which defies identification of the 'amalaka' thereon, if any.

The old temple at Sandera, Mehsana District, like the Nilakanthesvara temple at Sunak in the same district, sports or sported the 'amalakas' on the central crown as also on the crowns of the components of the roof of the mandapa-cum-porch unit (pls 21 & 45).

The Samiddhesvara temple, a renovation at Chitod of the early fifteenth century (pl. 48), has its porch bedecked with an 'amalaka' over its roof and also perhaps carried nearly twenty of them over the components of that roof to add dignity and beauty, and shall we say sanctity too, to the whole The fine double 'amalakas' on the central crown of the roof of the four-storeyed grand 'mandapa', and on the more than half a dozen roofs of the angular projections of the same, sit very neatly to emphasize the perfection of the roof of the Dwarakadhisa temple at Dwaraka (pl. 56) Even when the roof of the 'mandapa' is formed by a dome, the architects of this school of architecture do not drop the crowning 'amalaka' as can be seen from the 10th century temple of Sachiya Mata at Osian (pl. 20), the so-called Mirabai's temple at Chitod, and the highly syncretic temple edifices of the Sun temple at Jhalawar (pl 78), the Roopjee Mandir near Charbujhar and the later Sundara-Narayana temple at Nasik (pl. 58). The Orissan temples were not behind the Rajasthani-Gujarati-Khajuraho ones in this respect. Both the Lingaraja and the Brahmesvara and the Ananta-Vasudeva temples have the 'amalaka' on the tops of the roofs of their frontal adjuncts.

It is in comparison with the abundance and the form of the 'amalaka' found in these structures that, in respect of the crown of the Kesava (pls 82 and 83) and other temples of the Hoysalas, we have to emphasize the absence of 'amalaka' in them. The round object over their domical

crowns is more like an open-toothed wheel than an 'amalaka'.

The third feature, indeed the only one commonly used to distinguish the so-called Indo-Aryan temple from the so-called Dravidian one, is the great difference between the roofing tower over the sanctum-cella in the two systems of architecture The tower of the latter is a stepped pyramid rising tier upon tier, each higher tier being offset so as to leave the opening at the termination of the uppermost tier small enough to be capped over by a large stone finial Each tier is made up of a number of units every one of which is a miniature presentation of the total sanctum. And this description holds good, with only appropriate modification or adjustment for delicacy or peculiar features which came in course of time, in the earliest structures as also in the latest, the 18th century ones

In the Rajput school of architecture, even if one decides to agree with Percy Brown[10] in his assertion that "in a word the sikhara is composed of an orderly grouping of miniature multiples of itself, and the same applies very largely to the other parts of the structure" in the case of the 'sikharas' of this Rajput school, as he wants his readers to do, one will have to differ from him and submit that there is evidently a development from the absence of such a state to the highly developed stage represented in such groups of temples as those of Khajuraho. And it will be clear as we proceed with the brief outline of this development, which alone can be attempted here, that Brown's view is inapplicable not only to the handi-work in sacred architecture of the whole of the Rajput school but also to that of the Orissan architecture

To begin with I must emphasize the fact that I find it quite necessary to depart from the traditional way of looking at the 'sikhara' from the structure of the sanctum-cella faces There is the clearest evidence in all temple edifices of Kutch-Gujarat, Jodhpur-Chitod and Gwalior-Khajuraho areas, except a few transitional ones, that the corner of the 'sikhara'-tower is treated by the architects as a unit by itself. The ornamentation of the corner-band, whether it is a very slender band or a fair-sized rounded one, or again whether it is a right-angled broad or very broad one, is distinct from that of the bands of the facets This fact, which by itself should establish the architects' intention, is further strengthened by the usual image that an observer carries. The almost universal feature of the corner-band definitely ending under the coping stone and never rising above it to the neck of the structure, as the central band almost always does and the flanking bands of it not infrequently do, further supports

[10] Op cit, I, p 73

the same judgment In counting the vertical, or better longitudinal, bands of the faces of the 'sikhara'-tower for purposes of classifying or tracing the development of the 'sikhara'-tower I shall, therefore, leave out the corner, including in it even the bands that run by the side of any of the facet bands if their ornamentation is such that they form part of the corner.

Most of those early temples of the Chalukyas that are standing in the Dharwar-Bijapur-Mehabubnagar area, altogether not less than fifteen of them, sport a 'sikhara' which is single-banded, the central facet band standing out raised above the level of the large and broad corner These structures are generally assigned to the seventh century A D Some of them are reproduced in pls 2, 3, 4, 5, 17 A temple, very similar to those of this area which have a flat-topped 'mandapa'-hall, is known from the far off Deogarh of Gupta-age associations in Jhansi District, and is described as Jain It is reproduced from *the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1917-18) in pl 13 If it may be supposed to indicate a similar development in Hindu temple construction in that region it would offer intriguingly interesting field for speculation as to the genesis of the early Chalukya temples in the so-called Indo-Aryan style noticed above.

At least one of the temples of Roda in Sabarkantha District, temple No 1, has one-banded 'sikhara'.[11] It has only an open porch on four pillars attached to it but no 'mandapa'.

A number of temples at Osian in Jodhpur District, temple No. 1 and the two others on the same raised platform on which the No 1 temple stands (pl 9), temple No 4 (pl 1) also standing on a platform but with a much more elaborately roofed open pillared portico, and temple No 5 also on a raised platform and with a more developed system of frontal units must be classed among the above-mentioned structures as having one-banded 'sikharas', though the actual number of bands presented to the eye are three. For in all these specimens the narrower bands flanking the central broad band, though separated from the corner bands, carry the 'amalaka'-ornament just the same as and in the identical position of that of the corner-band. These structures then provide us with the transitional stage in the structural development of the temple in the Rajput school of architecture.

The last-mentioned temple has not only the pillared portico turned into a vestibule, *antarala*, but has also a small 'mandapa' with side seats

[11] U P Shah, *op cit*, p. 101.

provided high up the parapets, and suggests the probable presence of some kind of a portico. The elephant heads jutting out from the base of the seats are an additional instructive detail in the absence of what came to be known, in the ensemble of the later temples of this school of architecture, as elephant-procession frieze, 'gajathara', on the plinth of a temple. The temples have fairly high plinths above the rather high platform on which they stand The platform evidently bore sculptures in the niches in its sides and also ornamental friezes of geometrical or floral designs. Both the temples, No. 1 and No. 4, carry a fine frieze of beautifully carved musical and other processions, though rather in small-sized figures, at the top of the sanctum just under the start of the 'sikhara' The configuration of these features in these early structures previsage the architectural flower of a century or so later, blooming forth a few hundred miles to the north-east under another dynasty, that of the Chandelas, at Khajuraho.

In the temple of Harihara at Osian No. 2 (pl. 10) we have a specimen, perhaps the earliest on that side, of a three-banded 'sikhara'. In all other details, it not only agrees with the last one of the previous paragraph but advances on the road to the standard temple configuration of the Rajput school of architecture to such an extent that it can be used as a representative of it. The platform is high, it is sculptured, the plinth is high ; the 'mandapa' is much bigger, and the porch can be clearly seen ; the elephant heads jut out from the seat-joints, and the seats have out-sloping back-rests. The Sun temple, pl. 8, another structure from the place with a three-banded 'sikhara', shows what can be an earlier age 'mandapa'.

The Ghatesvara temple at Barolli in Chitodgarh District (?) ascribed to the close of the 9th century[12], immortalized by Tod both by his enthusiastic eulogy and by his record of the highly romantic local tradition, sporting what is perhaps the finest of these early 'sikharas', falls in this class of temples with three-banded 'sikharas' So, too, does the smaller and less known temple that stands a little behind it. The Ghatesvara temple, however, is not only somewhat later than the other temple noted above but shows the presence of a new element in the ornamentation of the temple edifice that was later to become such a marked distinction of the Rajput school of sacred architecture. There are four miniature 'sikharas' perching smugly at the four corners of the 'mandapa'-roof. They

[12] Krishna Deva, *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, pt. I. p 168

are carefully executed, though only of the one-banded variety.

I want to attract the reader's attention to the presence of another feature which I have already enumerated among the special characteristics of the Rajput school of sacred architecture. And that is the fact that all the three bands have their finely triangular upper ends well above the coping stone, so that, closing up the view of the neck of the top-'amalaka', they reach up almost to the under side of it. The feature can be noticed even in the smaller temple referred to above. Another feature, a charming and a distinctive one, though not universal yet sufficiently common to be considered a characteristic of the Rajput School of sacred architecture, is the presence of the entrance-'torana' or arched gateway, attesting to the effective use of a beautiful arched unit for aesthetic effect though not for structural function. The utter absence of any sculpture on the outside of the sanctum-walls, excepting in the three central niches in the three sides, may also be borne in mind. For later in the history, and currently, this is the standard practice.

The solitary temple of a very simple design, and rather crude-looking among the finer specimens of mediaeval sacred architecture in Nasik District, which was still standing at Anjaneri, about 15 miles west of Nasik, is instructive in the context of the assertion made here about the existence of a Rajput school of architecture developing from the Gupta and post-Gupta architectural practice. It has an open pillared 'mandapa' and a porch, both of which were perhaps roofed over with steps. The 'sikhara' is an unornamented structure of three-banded gentle and fine curve (pl. 14).

At Roda[13] in Sabarkantha District there are at least three temples, Nos. 3, 5 and 7, which have three-banded 'sikharas' The Surya temple at Sutrapada, near Prabhas Pattan on the Veraval coast, of early eighth century[14], too has a three-banded 'sikhara' (pl. 11).

The temples of the Malwa complex, whether from Malwa, or further west or south, have a single band which on inspection reveals itself to be three bands, the two on the two sides of the central band being very narrow, and all the three at the upper end showing a single head.

In the great Khajuraho complex we have two temples, the Laxmana and the Chitragupta, having three-banded 'sikharas', and at least three others, the Kandariya Mahadeva, the Viswanatha, and the Devi Jagadambi, having five-banded 'sikhara'. The Waman temple (pl. 32) with a very

[13] U. P. Shah, *op. cit*, pp. 103-07.
[14] *Archaeology in India*, 1960-61, p 75

slender corner cannot but be considered to have nine bands, the bands flanking and enclosing the slender corner-band having to be grouped with the bands of the side At the upper end they go over the coping stone like other bands, while the slender corner-band ends beneath

The later temples of this school of architecture have either three or five bands but I have not come across any with seven bands. Thus the famous Ekalingaji temple in Udaipur District itself and the other temples by it have all three-banded 'sikharas' (pl 52) So, too, the Mahakala and Sahasralinga temples at Bijolia in Chitod District have three-banded 'sikhara'. The famous fifteenth century temple of Kumbha-Shyama at at Sunak in Mehsana District and the early eighteenth century one, built by Damaji Gaikawad on the bank of the Man Sarovar at the famous city of Anahilvada Patan, have three-banded 'sikharas' (pls 45 and 64) The usual village temple of Rajasthan, to judge by the reproduction of one such by Col Archibald Adams (pl 60), appears to have a three-banded 'sikhara' The famous fifteenth century temple of Kumbha-Shyama at Chitod possesses a five-banded 'sikhara', and has among its compeers not only the Samalaji temple of Sabarkantha District and the simpler and smaller shrine at Wadhwan in Surendranagar District, known after the Saurashtrian lady of romantically heroic fame Ranakdevi (pls 49, 53, 12) The far-famed and majestic Jagadish Mandir of Udaipur and the locally much more popular one, and a fine specimen of syncretic sacred edifices of Rajasthan, the Roopjee Mandir near Charbujhar in the same district, have 'sikharas' whose five bands stand out quite clear with appropriate indentations in the top coping stone (pls 57 and 54)

In the Orissan temple the development appears to have gone the other way First of all, there is in the published literature on the subject no Orissan temple which is one-banded The Parasuramesvara which is believed to be the oldest of the whole complex, though not earlier than the latter half of the 8th century A.D, can be detected, in a good reproduction like the one R D Banerji[15] has given, to have a five-banded 'sikhara', though at least two and perhaps four of the bands are rather low and thus fail to impress as bands The temples at Gandharadi in Baud, at least the two illustrated by Banerji[16], too, have similar 'sikharas'. In the Muktesvara temple, the pride of Orissa among the smaller temples of India, I can count no less than five bands (pl 107), though two of these bands are rather depressed and fail to impress by their projection.

[15] *History of Orissa*, II, opp p 344
[16] *Ibid*, opp p 340

They, however, make up for their low stature by the nature of the ornamentation they carry. In the varied ensemble making up this low band, on the side of the corner-band, we find at least five human figures, the topmost being not very much lower down the upper end of the band. The greatest glory, next only to the completed Konarak masterpiece, of mediaeval Orissa, the grand Lingaraja temple, has only a three-banded 'sikhara'. Of the four smaller temples[17] near the Lingaraja, one appears to have five-banded 'sikhara', the rest having only three-banded ones The 'sikhara' of not only the Brahmesvara temple but also the 'sikharas' of the four other temples in the vicinity[18] are three-banded The Ananta-Vasudeva temple and the one a little distance away from it yet seen in the illustration provided by Banerji[19], have both a three-banded 'sikhara'. Within the enclosure of the great Lingaraja temple there are a number of temples. Banerji[20] has reproduced a scene in which six of them appear, of which the one named Parvati is focussed and can be studied fairly closely. The coping stone of the 'sikhara' appears to suggest a five-banded structure , but I feel convinced that the flanking gullies of the central band for which the coping stone makes the accommodation, are recessed parts of the central band I consider the Parvati temple to have a three-banded 'sikhara' Out of the five other temples visible in the illustration, I do not know that they are different from the temples in the Lingaraja enclosure which I already classified for their 'sikharas'. But four of them at least have three-banded 'sikharas' The fifth which lies beyond the ruined 'mandapa', appearing very close to the 'sikhara' of the Parvati temple, may have a five-banded 'sikhara' If a judgment on the Jagannath temple may be hazarded with the kind of reproduction available to me[21], I should say it has a five-banded 'sikhara' Taking even Jagannatha temple to have a five-banded 'sikhara' one can legitimately conclude that the 'sikharas' of the mediaeval Orissan temples after the early exuberance settled down to the pattern of a three-banded structure.

The occurrence of five bands in the 'sikhara' of the controversial Raja-Rani temple, associated as it is with features of specific western or Rajput affiliation, is to be accounted for as a special case, an exotic intrusion in the local complex.

[17] *Ibid*, see illustration opp p 356
[18] *Ibid*, see illustration opp p 368
[19] *Op. cit.*, opp. p 364
[20] *Op. cit*, opp. p. 372
[21] See Banerji, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 381

The difference between the general appearance of the 'sikhara' of the temples of the two complexes, those of the Rajput west and those of the Orissan east, has been amply noted by all the students of Indian architecture, though many of them have spoken of the two complexes as one class or school styled Indo-Aryan or Nagara Fergusson was the first to speak of the Indo-Aryan 'sikhara' in contrast to the Dravidian tower of Dravida temples, and also to the Chalukyan ones of southern Dharwar-Bijapur and Mysore areas R. D Banerji[22] mentioned an inscription from Holal in Bellary District, in which it is stated that one Bammoja, a sculptor, had either invented or studied four types of buildings, viz., Nagara, Kalinga, Dravida and Vesara, and applied the term Kalingan to the Orissan temple. Thus he distinguished the mediaeval Orissan style of architecture from the so-called Indo-Aryan and not only from the South Indian styles, whether Chalukya, Hoysala, Pandya, Chola or Nayak.

Percy Brown[23] writing a decade after Banerji introduced Northern as an alternative term for Indo-Aryan, and spoke of "some" seven regional developments of the Indo-Aryan style, Orissan being one of these seven

It is interesting that the two earlier temples of Bhuvanesvar, Orissa, the Parasuramesvara and the Muktesvara, have their 'sikharas' profusely ornamented with the chaitya-window motif, so that they look more like fretwork objects. Particularly is this the case with the Muktesvara temple, on which the execution of the motif is superbly beautiful And they are also the temples which are commonly acknowledged as having finely and gradually curving 'sikharas', unlike the later ones like the Lingaraja and the Ananta-Vasudeva temples, whose 'sikharas' almost suddenly incline inwards only high up.

The special interest of this phenomenon lies in the fact that all the early, and also the later ones at least upto the end or the middle of the 13th century, temples of the so-called Indo-Aryan or Nagar school of Architecture are more or less similarly ornamented on their 'sikharas', which, again, show gradual and fine curvilinearity. And this is true not only of the Osian and Khajuraho group but also of the Saurashtra-Kutch temples as also of the early Chalukya temples of Dharwar-Bijapur-Mehabubnagar tract In the Malwa complex of temples, whether those of Malwa itself or of Rajasthan and Maharashtra, identical ornamentation occurs on those parts of the 'sikhara' which offer plain surface for

[22] *History of Orissa*, II, p 335
[23] *Indian Arch*, I, p 118

its execution. It is only some of the temples of the 15th century, those erected after resurgence, to be specific the two Chitod edifices, known as the Kumbhasyama mandir (pl. 49) and Mira Mandir (pl. 51), that appear to lack this ornamentation on their 'sikharas'. So does also the Samalaji temple (pl. 53). The Ekalingaji temple, however, bears that ornamentation, though the four or five other temples in the vicinity do not have it (pl. 52) Similarly the Jagadish temple at Udaipur, well-known in Rajasthan, shows the chaitya-window motif on its 'sikhara' but not the two smaller temples on its two sides (pl. 57). The syncretic sacred edifice of the Sun temple at Jhalawar has followed in the footsteps of its predecessors of the unmixed local school of architecture, the Malwa complex, in having the chaitya-window motif incised on the central band of the 'sikhara', though it is superimposed upon by two ornamental 'sikharas'. And even they appear to bear the same ornamentation (pl. 78) The Tryambakesvara temple Nasik, too, has the same ornamentation on its 'sikhara' (pl. 59), though the syncretic Sundara Narayana temple at the same spot lacks it (pl. 58).

The most outstanding exception to this statement occurs at Khajuraho itself, its Chitragupta temple at least not showing this ornamentation on its 'sikhara', being bare of all incised ornament (pls. 29 and 31). This example is followed in the rather fine syncretism of the Roopjee Mandir near Charbujhar (pl. 54). The typical Rajasthani village temple of later times, to judge by the specimen presented by Col. Archibald Adams and reproduced in pl. 60 here, follows the pattern of the Chitragupta temple of the Khajuraho complex in the absence of ornamentation of the central portions of its 'sikhara'. The type evidently had come to dominate the Rajput school of architecture, it would appear, after the 15th century, as the specimens devoid of this ornamental motif enumerated above must make it clear. I may add, as further evidence, the temple erected on the bank of the Man Sarovar at the famous capital of mediaeval Gujarat, Anahilvada Patana by the Maratha general Damaji Gaikawad in the second quarter of the 18th century (pl. 64) and also the temple built at Gwalior by a Sindhia royal lady more than half a century later, obligingly illustrated by Fergusson.[24]

Turning to the Orissan temples, chronologically coming after the beautiful specimen of carving of the ornamental chaitya-motif, we witness a different phenomenon, partial eclipse of the motif following almost immediately after that specimen, the Muktesvara temple. The

[24] Op. cit., II.

grand Lingaraja temple is the first specimen of the Orissan temples which emphasizes horizontality in its 'sikhara' and that through the medium of moulded corrugations of projection and recess In such a dispensation of the surface of a structure there is only lukewarm invitation for an ornamental motif. The central band is the only surface offering scope for the particular type of ornamentation And we find that in the Lingaraja temple it bears seven longitudinal ornamental belts almost evenly spaced out. Of these the two extremity belts show only some scroll-work. The remaining five belts are longitudinal rows of the chaitya-window motif appropriately simplified. The belts are so slender that the fact of their ornamentation being formed by the chaitya-window motif is revealed only under a good magnifying glass even in the fine and large reproductions of a portion of the 'sikhara' obligingly provided by R. D Banerji at pages 232 and 296 of the second volume of his book *History of Orissa.* There is at least one such belt on each of the two corner-bands, but it is broken in by their *amalaka* ornament and does not impress the observer

The progressive deterioration of this ornamental symbol is signalized by the total absence of such belts on the 'sikharas' of both the Brahmesvara and the Ananta-Vasudeva temples[25] Further indifference about it is signified by the erratic and sporadic execution of the stylized chaitya-windows at two or three odd places only on the central band of the larger of the two ornamental 'sikharas' superimposed on the central band of the main 'sikhara' of the exotic Raja-Rani temple[26] (pls 102, 103) The half a dozen smaller temples within the enclosure and in the vicinity of the great Lingaraja[27] are absolutely devoid of any ornamentation on their 'sikharas' Equally plain are the four temples seen in the vicinity of the Brahmesvara temple[28]. The two temples standing on a separate platform by the side of the Muktesvara temple in pl. 107 are devoid of all ornament on their 'sikharas'. The Siddhesvara temple behind the Muktesvara temple clearly seen in pl. 107 may have the slender broken longitudinal belt on the corner band made up of the stylized chaitya-windows arranged as a vertical row or of a mere scroll ! It is perfectly legitimate to conclude from these data that the ornamentation of a 'sikhara' with the chaitya-window motif had begun to be a very subordinate item with the full development of the temple type of mediaeval

[25] R. D. Banerji, *op cit*, pp. 40, 208, 364, 368
[26] *Ibid*, pp. 48, 360
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 356.
[28] *Ibid.*, p 368.

Orissa and that it soon thereafter was discontinued, so that most of the temples went without any, a few showing it in a non-impressive manner almost as a dispensable item.

Obvious subordination and cessation of ornamentation with chaitya-window motif, and later complete absence of any ornamentation is a development which never occurred in the Rajput school of temple architecture. As will be presently clear the Rajput school had cultivated, quite early in the developmental history, another ornamental device, which was more organically related to the 'sikhara', and employed it almost in an augmented state when it dropped out the chaitya-window-motif from its ornamentation repertory. The complete dropping out of the chaitya-window-motif on the body of the 'sikhara' came about only after the 16th century or thereabouts

The incipient beginnings of the additional system of ornamentation and/or of augmentation of the size or of the expression of a new conception of the birth of the configurationing pattern of the 'sikhara' bedecking the 'sikhara' of a temple, are seen in the miniature 'sikharas', one-banded but neatly ornamented with the identical pattern, occupying the four corners of the roof of the dainty little 'mandapa', attached to the Ghatesvara temple at Barolli (pl 15). I say attached because the structure is not organically unified with the sanctum by the binding continuation of the plinth of the latter. As a matter of fact the 'mandapa'-structure stands without a plinth, appearing as if coming out of the floor level with the ground. The temple at Keda in Kutch (pl. 18) shows two such miniature 'sikharas' at the base of each corner of its 'sikharas', one sitting smugly just on the top of the pilaster of the sanctum-cella and the other over its top a little backwards We will have thus eight miniature 'sikharas' ornamenting the whole base of the 'sikhara', unless perhaps at the front, where the attachment of the 'mandapa', if any, and the special frontage so often seen in the sacred edifices of this school of architecture, had reduced the number by two.

From far to the east, a temple, that at Kadwaha in Guna District of the Madhya Pradesh, reproduced in pl 22, shows a three-banded biggish 'sikhara' superimposed flatly and frontally over the three of the five bands of a side of the main 'sikhara'. The superimposed 'sikhara', however, in the particular position appears fully to give it the appearance of a five-banded structure. Boldly projecting angular pilasters with corresponding angular deep recesses and the heavy and numerous mouldings and cornices of the temple-sanctum combined with the external sculptures

in three tiers affine the temple to some of the structures of the Khajuraho complex.

The Devi temple at Jagat in Udaipur District (pl. 16) appears to have combined an added number and these new ornamental features seen in the three temples mentioned above with the older ones. It has a biggish 'sikhara' superimposed over the side of the main 'sikhara', with one miniature 'sikhara' at two of the corners of the main unit It has in addition four similar miniatures at the four corners of the 'mandapa' top as in the Ghatesvara temple at Barolli (pl. 15) and six slightly smaller ones on the top of the porch of the temple, three of which only are visible in the picture.

The temple of Sachiya Mata at Osian in Jodhpur District (pl. 20) goes a step further not only in adding another superimposed 'sikhara', the additional one coming on the first superimposition in an appropriately lower position, but also in the featuring of these superimposed 'sikharas' We have here what are known as "three-quarters" 'sikharas' in place of the 'half' ones of the Kadwaha temple Two corners of each are fully shown and also parts of the two sides, thus creating a three-dimensional vision of the 'sikhara'. Thus we have in this specimen seven biggish superimposed 'sikharas' and four 'miniatures' attached at the four corners of the main 'sikhara'. The temple at Sandera in Mehsana District (pl. 21) resembles this temple in having two superimposed ornamental 'sikharas' over the sides of the main 'sikhara'

Sacred Architecture: Later Phase

The Lakshmana temple or Khajuraho with its date fixed as A.D. 950 is the most important landmark in the history of the development of temple architecture of the Rajput school. I shall briefly describe it here bringing out all the significant and characteristic features of the Rajput school reflected in its architecture and not confine my observations to the continuation of the topic of 'sikhara'-ornamentation. In the matter of the last element the Lakshmana temple represents a somewhat earlier stage than the temple of Sachiya Mata. For it has only one, though biggish, 'sikhara'-superimposition over the sides of its main 'sikhara'. But in flanking the superimposed structure at the two sides at its base with a row of two miniature 'sikharas', one on the top of another, it adds a new feature tending towards the final culmination of the main 'sikhara' being represented as arising out of a colony of 'sikharas', young and old, of appropriately varying sizes and heights. On the front side, where the majestic frontage, made up of the sacred symbol already dealt with, makes the superimposition of an ornamental 'sikhara' impossible, the two basal miniature 'sikharas' of the side-superimposed 'sikhara' figure here on the 'mandapa'-top by the side of the front device. Thus we have on the 'sikhara' of this temple 3 biggish superimposed 'sikharas' and 16 miniature 'sikharas' disposed at the bases of these and of the frontal device.

In the matter of the ornamentation of the corners if the 'sikhara', the

Lakshmana temple registers another advance At its base the corner starts with a couple of miniature 'sikharas', of appropriately portly dimensions, placed one on the top of another Above the 'sikharas' the corner is made up of a longitudinal string of miniature 'sikharas', suitably stylized, with the 'amalakas' wide enough to cover the whole girth of the corner, thus continuing the older type of ornament intact

Leaving out these last but counting those at the base of the cornerband we have 24 miniature 'sikharas' and 3 biggish superimposed ones on the Lakshmana temple in an endeavour of making the soaring paraboloidal tower an aesthetically satisfying configuration One may point out that the configuration, helped by some other features, smoothly and swiftly conveys the observer's eyes straight up and impresses upon him the verticality of the composition With the full complement of this and two or three other units of the complex of the full complement of units in the case of two or three other temples, axially laid out, this is a very important function. The total length of the temple thus is matched by the soaring height of the tower, which appears to have grown to its height through the help of its auxiliary 'sikharas', which suitably enhance the size of the lower portion of the tower

I have briefly dwelt on the difference, and I should now emphasize the difference as a crucial trait separating the Orissan architecture as a different school of architecture from that which created the Khajuraho and other western complexes, of the Rajput school of architecture, as, I submit, we must designate it. It has to be definitized in greater detail here as the Lakshmana temple is the first specimen which has almost all the characteristics of the Rajput school. If it does not reach the culmination of the school in the matter of the number of superimposed and miniature 'sikharas', it registers a particularly important trait which, on the one hand distinguishes the school from the Orissan school, and on the other establishes its affinity with the Chalukya and Hoysala school of South Deccan and further east and south

The built-up platform on which the temple stands and its high plinth appear to be almost common traits of the Rajput school of architecture, whether at Ghumli (pl 38), at Osian (pls 1, 6, 8-10), or at Jagat (pl 16), or at Bijolia, or Kadwaha (pls. 46, 22). At Khajuraho, where the culmination is reached in the earliest of the temples, the Lakshmana, we have even more impressive specimens of this combined feature, enhancing the majesty of these sacred edifices of pre-Muslim India, in the Chitragupta, the Viswa-

natha, the Kandariya Mahadeva and the Matangesvara temples (pls. 29, 30, 34-6, 33).

The Malwa variety of the Rajput school appears to have looked upon the platform as an equally great need. The great Udayapur and the Gyaraspur temples testify to it The temples of this variety at Jhogda[1] and Sinnar in Nasik and at Pillalmari in Mehbubnagar (pls 71 and 74), too, rear up their high plinths on platforms

Further south, the Hoysala temples of Kesava at Belur and Somanathapur (pls 82, 85) as well as the great edifice at Halebid[2], with their very high plinths stand on almost equally high platforms. As already pointed out the Orissan temples with an exception of two have such low plinths that they appear to arise directly out of the ground level The platforms, too, are not regularly met with.

Another feature of even deeper significance, as it must be embodying some symbolic element, is the presence of what is technically called the 'gajathara', the elephant-stratum, in many temples of the Rajput school of architecture. P Brown[3] has emphasized the presence of an elephant-frieze on the base as an invariable accompaniment of the Solanki architecture of Gujarat and has seen in its occurrence in "a complete series of the traditional mouldings of the [Solanki] style" on the base of some of the temples at Kiradu in Jodhpur District one of the "many characteristics of the Solanki mode" What Brown calls the Solanki mode is really a Rajput heritage, developed evidently in North India by the Rajput architects, and must be traced to its source in the Deccan at Verula (Ellora) and its rock-cut wonder, the Kailasa temple. It is well-known that the Kailasa is shown as borne on their backs by magnificent elephants at its base facing the observer.[4]

At Khajuraho, the Lakshmana temple, which must predate the earliest of the Solanki temples by at least a century, these noble animals jut out their beautiful heads, trunks and front feet from under the cornice of the basement, lying about its middle, and are framed in by another ornamented cornice below their feet and trunks (pls 25-27) Both the Vishwanatha and Kandariya Mahadeva temples, too, have that frieze, precisely in the same position but the animals are depicted as in a procession, as is the more common mode in most temples, and the frieze is

[1] See P Brown, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XCV
[2] Ibid, pl. CX.
[3] *Op. cit.*, I, pp 139-40, 144 and pls LXXXIX and LXXXVI.
[4] See Brown, I, pl LXXXVIIIA

rather narrow and the animals are almost tiny (pls. 30, 34-36). The Chitragupta temple shows a frieze in the same spot but I am not sure that it is a wholly elephant-frieze.

In Rajasthan Kiradu is not the only place where an elephant-frieze is in evidence The Samiddhesvara temple at Chitod, the photo of only a small fragment of which became available to me (pl 48), shows the noble animals in the same frontal position but in a closer array almost half-way up the plinth, symbolically bearing what cannot but be a magnificent edifice.

At Gwalior the portion of the beautiful Bahu temple which has come down intact has the elephant-frieze, it would appear, all-round, only broken off by the steps (pl 43)

Among the four temples of the Malwa complex which have an elephant-frieze, one at Ramgarh in Kotah District and another at Menal in Chitod District carry this symbolic device (pl 68, 67). The Saiva temple at Ambarnatha in Thana District and Gondesvara temple at Sinnar in Nasik District both show frontally faced frieze of elephants[5]

In Gujarat the fine Nilakanthesvara temple, one of the rarest of the sacred edifices of that region from pre-Muslim era that have come down almost complete, at Sunak in Mehsana District (pl 45) has the elephant-frieze in the frontal stance and in rather close formation The fragment of a temple at Motap in the same District, reproduced in plate 40, too, has it less dense, and shows a slight modification under the central niche, perhaps worship being offered by a pair of them there. The temples at Bavka in Panchamahal District, the far-famed Surya temple at Modhera in Baroda District, and the Navalakha at Ghumli in Jamnagar District, show the frieze in a close formation All of them have it in a little higher position than in the previous specimens; and whereas the Modhera frieze appears to be frontal even under the 'mandapa'-hall, those of Bavka and Ghumli turn it into a procession under the corresponding parts (pls 83, 39, 41)

The purpose of the elephant sculpture at the foot or near the base of the sacred edifice appears to be to emphasize the mundane aspect of royalty in the world of the Divine. God's house must be borne aloft by the royal insignia of a few hundred elephants and not half a dozen or so of human royalty! There is also the possibility of the traditional and mythical notion of the 'ashtadiggajas', eight guardian elephants of the eight quarters, strengthening the purely lay motive of royal magnificence.

[5] Fergusson, II, pls XXV and XXVI

Whatever the impelling motive, mystic, material or aesthetic or all combined, the architects who followed the tradition of the Rajput school of architecture were so convinced of the need of the frieze that we find it even on the base of a Jodhpur cenotaph, that of Rio Ganga at Mandor near Jodhpur (pl. 97), a cenotaph having been looked upon as a 'devli', a shrine.

All the three Hoysala temples, mentioned above as having both a built-up platform to stand upon and a high plinth, carry this device but only as a procession of elephants and not as the carriers of the structure on their backs.

Thus in the matter of the device of an elephant-frieze the Orissan school stands apart from the Rajput school of the west and the Hoysala school of central and western south but not as apart as the so-called Dravidian, in reality only the Tamilian, school of architecture.

I shall follow up this trail of trait connected with the general disposition of the sacred edifice with its associates in the external appearance, which, as will be clear presently, affect the aesthetic appeal of these structures as also increase their effectiveness for fostering an appropriate internal atmosphere conducive to pious meditation or devotional trance

The high plinths of these noble edifices of Khajuraho support appropriately high parapets. And the parapets are turned to good use by the outsloping slabs which provide reclining rests for the backs of those who occupy the seats, which internally top the parapets and render the high parapets presentable pieces of architecture. Sloping-back seats are a noteworthy characteristic of most of the post-eighth century temples of the Rajput school of architecture whatever regional variety of the school they may represent Thus the 9th century temples of Osian, and the later one of Sachiya Mata of the same place (pls. 1, 6, 8-10, 20), have them. The temples of the 10th to the 13th century from Sandera, Sunak and Ghumli in Gujarat (pls 21, 38, 45), from Jagat and Menal in Rajasthan (pls. 16, 67), from Udayapur in Malwa and Sinnar in Nasik (Pls. 62-3, 71), too, show this feature in situ or in ruins as the case may be

Some of the Chalukyan and Hoysala temples of the Southern and south-central Deccan were provided with these characteristic seats, but one misses them utterly both in the mediaeval Orissan temples and the Tamilian and Dravidian temples of the South.

All Hindu temples that have any pretensions to being rated as important or even as considerable structures have axially with the cella one or more unit-structures. As stated earlier this poses an architectural

problem in the endeavour of producing out of the two, three of four units in the same axis an organic single-edifice It is known to all students of Hindu sacred architecture that the sanctum-cella of the only two units that composed the earliest of Orissan extant temples, the Parasuramesvara, is considered by competent authorities from the manner in which it is joined to the 'mandapa'-hall, to be a later addition[6] I have pointed out that, in the later temples with two or three units in addition to the sanctum-cella, the junctions of all the units are so attenuated that they all appear as if they were so many different units brought together to form one composition through the tenuous connection of juxtaposition

Turning to the temples of the Rajput school, one finds that all the sacred edifices created in its tradition, which are so far intact as to enable us to judge of this juncture appear as organic unities, all the member-units being tied up into a single whole, the one, two or three jointures, as the case may be, being utilized by the architects to emphasize the sacred character of the building, to deepen the internal atmosphere of mystery and to strengthen the aesthetic appeal of his handi-work, in the post-ninth century structures excepting a few single-storeyed early temples of Gujarat. Of these latter I shall write in connection with another feature of the Rajput sacred architecture

Turning to the Viswanatha temple of Khajuraho, one finds that two of the three jointures are covered up with beautiful columnar-looking structures, built up as it were of representational miniatures of shrines and finally capped as such, starting off from the top of the plinth and therefore not showing any trace of theirs in the plinth and the ground-plan Lakshmana temple has identical number-units, i e the 'antarala'-vestibule and three others, and like the previous temple, a cruciform sanctum-cella with projecting side-balconies Like it, too, its photograph exposes to inspection only the jointure between the 'mandapa'-hall and the 'ardhamandapa'-unit and we can clearly see two angular projections at the junction, one rather slender and the other quite big, which are similarly structured as the column-like projection in the Viswanatha temple but have their bases in the plinth Thus they rise from the plinth precisely in the manner in which other parts rise and make a perfectly fitting part of a whole The photograph of the magnificently grand edifice of the whole group, the Kandariya Mahadeva temple, which too has the same number of component units and the projecting side-balconies, enables us to get a glimpse of the two jointures, i e of the junction of

[6] Percy Brown, I, p 120

the 'mandapa'-hall on both its sides. The juncture with the 'ardha-mandapa' is effected by two and a half, so to say, angular projections, two of which rear up biggish column-like structures identical with those I have described in the case of the Vishwanatha temple. Over the third projection, described as a half one above, is a similar structure reaching above the top cornice of the balcony To judge by the deep shadow, which must explain to the reader and the observer why I have attributed to this fine feature of joining and binding up two axial member-units aesthetic function, only one such column-type structure is noticed (pls. 34-36, 30).

The Chitragupta temple (pls 29, 31), and the Devi Jagadambi temple (pl 24) have evoked Percy Brown's[7] encomium as "very elegantly proportioned" Though Brown characterizes the latter as " a good example of the simpler type of temple design" I think it is an aberrant type in the matter of the jointure of the 'mandapa' On the side of the sanctum-front the 'antarala' is clearly marked out in the elevation and the moulding, both horizontal and vertical, and the 'mandapa', too, has a bulging elevation as it is distinctly treated as a separate or an additional unit joined, however elegantly, to the 'antarala' of the edifice. The bulging elevation of the 'mandapa' on that side contrasts with the juncture with the porch, being very much of the same type as those in other temples of the group.

Viewing the temples of Khajuraho from this angle one cannot fail to be impressed by the Chitragupta temple (pls. 8, 29) which is known to be a Sun-temple and was known locally as Chatr-ko-putr temple, when Sir Lepel Griffin in the penultimate decade of the 19th century photographed it (pl. 31). The two photographs, one in about A D 1886 and the other in 1963 (pl. 29), show the difference renovation has made to this gem of a temple, the later picture adding a dimension to our view of the fine edifice. I have already noted its peculiarity in the matter of the standard ornamentation of the 'sikhara' tower. The jointures on the two sides of the 'mandapa' and its balconies appear to harmonize with each other, three column-type structures, like the one described above in the case of the Viswanatha temple, impinging upon the observer's eyes and leading them up to view the pair of crowns each on three sides of the roof of the 'mandapa' and the topmost and the central one of the roof itself in a unified configuration, not only suggesting the congruent existence of two such on the fourth side but also, in this particular picture, showing the head of one of them The total view the observer receives is that of a

[7] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 132.

roundish portly top-structure, neatly borne up by the twelve column-type structures, strung out of a succession of stylized miniature shrines, six of which can be visible from one side The top of the porch, which, too, has three-columned sides, like the three-columned side-front of the 'mandapa'-balcony, harmonizes well with the form and shape of the top of the 'mandapa' behind it. Altogether it presents a graciously pleasing configuration

The great interest from the viewpoint of the affinities and continuities of the school of architecture here dealt with is that this management of the jointure between the 'mandapa'-balcony and the porch is adopted later in temples spread far and wide As a matter of fact the Wamana temple, too, has three angular projections of similar make-up between the 'mandapa'-balcony and the rather short porch. But there is a difference which is also important The three angularities are rather rounded and disposed so that the central one is quite big and resembles the angular buttress-like juncture one sees in the identical position in the great Sas-Bahu temple of Gwalior (pl. 42) It is flanked by two open angularities, which are smaller than it. The other two column-type structures flanked the central solidly bold angularity on its two sides The nearest analogue, to this, however, is seen in the Devi temple of Jagat (pl. 16), which has only one quite solid but beautifully sculptured angular projection forming the corner juncture between the 'mandapa' and the porch

The temple at Sandera in Mehsana District (pl 21) affords a good illustration of an open angular projection at the juncture of the 'mandapa' and the porch. The projecting plinth has the seats at the top provided with out-sloping rests for the backs of the sitters, at the corner junction of which rises the pillar which supports the 'chajja' or the projecting eaves. In this type of temples the 'mandapa' and the porch are open. The Sachiya Mata temple at Osian (pl. 20) appears to fall in the same group.

The finest extant example, however, is the smaller of the pair of temples known as Sas-Bahu at Gwalior (pl 43) The angular projection stands out so well with everything in situ and in fine trim that, with its roof intact and illustrating the common method of roofing the component member-units of the sanctum-cella in the Rajput school of architecture, it may be pronounced to be an unequalled specimen of this class of temples. Human figure sculptures, too, on this beautifully proportioned and classically neat edifice are so few as to make it look austere among its compeers of the age But the lattice work type carving in the properly

distributed and conveniently placed spots relieves that austereness and makes the edifice pleasing. To me this small temple, provided of course its sanctum-cella and its 'sikhara' were in keeping with the units still standing intact, as we have every reason to believe must have been the case, is much more satisfying as a place where worship is offered and/or devotion is practised or again meditation is cultivated than its bigger companion, which is three-storeyed.

Two temples of the Malwa complex, the one at Menal in Chitod district and the other of Siddhesvara at Nemawar in Dewas District, show the single angular projection at the juncture of the 'mandapa' with the porch closed up with latticed panels between the pillars (pls 67, 65).

The justly eulogised Nilakanthesvara temple at Udayapur in Vidisha District (pls. 62-3) has the juncture of the porch and the 'mandapa' closed up completely, presenting in the elevation three angularly placed solid pillar-like pilasters, beautifully rising up to bear the appropriately dwarfish roof of the 'mandapa' as if it were no burden. The Gondesvara temple at Sinnar in Nasik District, a work of the same Malwa variety of the Rajput school of architecture, too, has not only the juncture between the porch and the 'mandapa' but also that between the latter and the sanctum-cella completely closed up by five pillar-like pilasters, supporting the rather uppish roof but not in that easy manner as do the three pillar-like pilasters of the Nilakanthesvara temple at Udayapur

The Siva temple at Ramgarh in Kotah District shows two angular open projections bearing the weight of what appears to have been the low pyramidal roof of the 'mandapa' To judge from the plinth-projections that peep out in the photograph (pl. 68) similar arrangement existed at the juncture of the 'mandapa' and the porch.

The organic connection of the three or four member units of the sacred edifice in such a manner as to close the 'mandapa' about half to three-fourths and yet to endow it with an elegant architectural feature and bind the whole composition into a unity is a characteristic feature of most of the great temples of the large tract of the country, which lies to the east of Patna and the north of Mysore and which is treated here as Rajput-dominated.

Another external feature which fulfills the double purpose of shading off light from the outside and of adding a kind of grace in the post-ninth century temples of the Rajput school of architecture is the provision of a 'chajja' or projecting eaves, which is more often than not well corrugated, running round the open parts of the 'mandapa' and the porch, as well as

of the 'ardhamandapa' wherever it exists. This feature is present in the great temples of Hoysala architecture of Dharwar-Mysore region but not in that of mediaeval Orissa

The roofing of the 'mandapa' and the porch as well as of the 'ardhamandapa', wherever it exists, in the Rajput school of architecture distinguishes it both from the Chalukyan-Hoysala school of Dharwar-Mysore region and from the Orissan school, though in engineering technique they may be similar, being all based on the principle of a stepped pyramid. In the Rajput school the observer hardly sees the steps, except in some of the temples of the Khajuraho group He is impressed, on the other hand, by a crop of crowned tops, more or less similar to the top crown of the main 'sikhara' of the temple in one variety, most clearly seen to advantage in the smaller of the pair of Sas-Bahu temples of Gwalior reproduced from Sir Lepel Griffin's magnificent volume in plate 43 The roof of the 'mandapa' has not only the full-fledged crown equipped with its 'amalaka' over the central pyramid but also at least four such smaller ones on the four half pyramids projecting out of one another on each of the two free sides On the front side adjoining the top of the porch there are two such, and we may presume at least one, if not two, on the side adjoining the front of the sanctum Besides, at each of the four corners at the base of the roof three such structures, the central being bigger than the two flanking it, can be postulated as the corner facing the observer gives clear indication of three There is the standard complex pattern of chaitya-window ornament over the niches at the fronts of the bases of the two free sides of the roof Similar ornamental patterns crown three sides, including the front, of the roof of the porch, which, again, carries four crowns of appropriately smaller sizes, one over the central pyramid and three over the three side ones, the side abutting on the roof of the 'mandapa' having none The impression that an observer carries is, therefore, that of an orderly cluster of 'amalaka' and 'kalasa'-type of crown, topping what, in essence, may be highly stylized representations of one type of shrine

The Mahanal temple at Menal in Chitod (pl 67), belonging to the Malwa variety of the Rajput school of architecture, has a roof which lies, in its total make-up and general appearance, midway between the type of the roof described above and that which one sees over the 'mandapa' of the great Udayesvara temple (pl. 63), the gem of the Malwa complex of temples, at Udayapur At the side facing the observer, behind the complex ornamental pattern over the balcony, one can spot six crowns

of the usual pattern rising one behind and higher than the other in front. There must be a similar row of these crowns on the other side. On the front side, the roof of the porch having been provided as an organic part of the 'mandapa'-roof, there are at least seven such crowns. At the back, facing and abutting on the front of the shrine, I presume, there were only four such crowns. The rising cluster of these twentythree crowns is centrally topped over by another and a bigger crown At the corners of the top of the juncture of the 'mandapa' and the porch there would appear to be another four such structures. The rising sides of each of the triangles thus crowned—the roof as viewed from the side can be resolved into a succession of triangles, each one wider and higher than the one in front—carry a succession of small highly stylized representations of the 'mandapa'-roof, which symbolized the temple itself as can be judged by the crowns over them. The scheme of roofing seen in a dilapidated condition in the temple at Sandera in Mehsana District (pl. 21) appears to have been almost the same.

The Khajuraho complex illustrates the transition from the purely stepped pyramidal roofing of the member units to a type which presents all the appearance of being made up of a perfect combination of an orderly cluster of niche-shrines, one above and beyond another, and a systematic grouping of neat standard 'kalasa'-bearing crowns.

The Lakshmana temple, with which we started in our quest of the development of the important architectural element of a Hindu temple, the 'sikhara'-tower, offers itself as the best example of the earliest syncretism in the matter of the roofing of the 'mandapa' and the other units of a temple The first thing one notes (pls. 26-7) is that there are distinct seven step-platforms, crowned by a fairly and appropriately large crown, forming the roofs of the 'mandapa' and the 'ardhamandapa', the porch roof having perhaps only five step-platforms with a band of them projecting in the central part of each of the sides The complex ornamental pattern formed of the chaitya-window motif, dealt with almost at the beginning, further modifies the appearance of these stepped pyramids. The 'mandapa'-roof on its two free sides begins with an appropriately broad five-chambered niche shrine containing beautiful figure-sculpture, flanked by one miniature representation of a shrine on each side, and topped above and behind by a set of five- or six-membered complex patterned chaitya-window ornamental motif (pls 25, 28). The two other member units in continuation show the same arrangement only adjusted to fit their smaller sizes. At the extreme front, that over the

porch, similar shrine in one panel of the complex ornamental motive is seen. The ornamental motive either singly or in duplicate is seen also on the fronts of the two side units The steps, as usual with such structures whether in the Orissan or the Rajput school of architecture, carry, at about a dozen places on each step, the half-chaitya windows stylized as an ornament, in the form of a small erect moulding

The Viswanatha temple (pl 30) has all the three stepped pyramidal roofs of the three units in the centrally banded form, there being two such bands, one projecting out of the other Every one of the central bands is capped by a regular and standard crown, so that the roof of the 'mandapa' has seven of these on the four sides and a bigger one over the whole That however does not exhaust the crowns The frontmost central band has not only a set of five panels of the ornamental pattern, above mentioned, disposed in identical manner but they are also flanked on both sides by a series of three miniature representations of a shrine in higher and narrowing tiers To emphasize the make-up of the roof as a cluster of crowns and shrines, over the juncture of the 'mandapa' with the 'ardhamandapa', beginning with the top of the columnar corner projection, is provided a tier of six miniature representations of a shrine, filling out the corner-space between the front and side central bands, all the way up to the top, ending level with the coping of the roof. The particular form of the pyramidal roof of the Matangesvara temple at the same place (pl. 33) can be seen to be a less pyramidally impressive model, adapted to and developed for the newer technique of creating a configuration impressive of shrine cluster.

The magnificent edifice of the Kandariya Mahadeva temple (pls. 34-36) is the culmination of the theory and practice of making the roofs a configuration of clusters of shrines both with and without crowns I can count fourteen miniature shrines without crowns, beginning with the two on the tops of the two columnar projections covering the juncture of the 'mandapa' with the 'ardhamandapa', and adding the two smaller ones at the base of the six or seven tiers of the elaborate triangular pattern If this feature is symmetrically executed, as it would most probably have been, then we have a total of fifty-six crownless miniature shrines, disposed in rising tiers and therefore powerfully impinging on the observer's eye. And there are at least four more of them on the front in the space behind the roof of the 'ardhamandapa', which is not only rather low but is also spaced much further, leaving some open space in between Add to these the dainty standard-'kalasa'-topped crowns,

three on each of the two free sides, two on the front side and apparently only one at the backside. Thus we have at least eleven crowned heads, beautifully rising one above the other, covering all the four sides. The same pattern appears to have been followed in the roofs of the remaining two units, appropriately modified for size and number, too, in keeping with the size and height of those roofs.

Altogether the roofs of the three front units of the Kandariya Mahadeva temple present an utter contrast with the two roofs of the units in identical position attached to the great Lingaraja temple of Bhuvanesvara (pls. 105-06) and even to the famous temple of Jagannatha at Puri[8] in Orissa.

The roof of the 'mandapa' of the temple at Udayapur (pl. 63) was felt to be so peculiar by Fergusson that he commented upon it, though he did not dwell on the external aspect of the roofing of the 'mandapa', or porch as he calls it, in his exposition of roofing made in the first volume of his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (pp. 313-15). He says[9]: ". . . the porch is covered, as at Sinnar, with a low pyramidal roof, placed diagonally, on the sub-structure, and rising in steps, each of which is ornamented with vases or urns of varying shapes". I am not satisfied that Fergusson's characterization of the 'mandapa'-roof of the Gondesvara temple at Sinnar in Nasik District by analogy is correct; but I am not going to go into that as my purpose is limited to which I must proceed. The roof of the Udayapur temple 'mandapa' is not only low pyramidal but also rather flattish whose pyramidal nature, in contrast with the roofs of the 'mandapa' of most other temples so far mentioned, is so subdued that one does not get the pyramidal impression with anything like impressive compulsion. The roof of the 'mandapa' of the Mahanal temple of Menal, already described briefly, though camouflaged by the large number of biggish crowns and a still larger number of small ones which must have graced the large number of miniature shrines, highly stylized and extremely abbreviated, forming the sides of the triangles into which we resolved the total composition of the roof, is of the same pattern.

Fergusson's identification of the small structures or mouldings over the edges of the low steps as vases is I think, incorrect. They are nothing but abbreviated forms of miniature shrine-representations and their analogies are to be seen in the miniature structures that grace the corner

[8] See R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, II, pl. facing p 380
[9] *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 147.

edges of the steps of the 'mandapa'-roof of the Devi Jagadambi temple at Khajuraho (pl. 24) In all probability the small structures over the roof of the Udayesvara temple were crowned with slender crowns, making the whole roof of the 'mandapa' appear like that of the Kumbha-Shyama temple at Chitod (pl 49) The roof of the 'mandapa' of that temple establishes beyond doubt the fact of the 'mandapa' unit being placed diagonally to the main structure, the sanctum-cella One can see the diagonal ridge of the roof resting over the sub-structure with its end lying over the top of the front entrance.

The 'mandapa' of the temple of Ekalingaji, so famous in Rajput history, is similarly placed and the diagonal ridge of its roof lying behind the roof of the porch which is a separate unit demonstrates the fact of the diagonal placement of the 'mandapa' even more pronouncedly (pl. 52).

The mention of the Kumbha-Shyama and the Ekalingaji temples ushers in another important feature characteristic of the Rajput school of architecture in its development, and that is the storeyed 'mandapa' and the porch. The earliest known specimen of a storeyed temple is of course the fifth century structure at Nachna[10] in Ajayagarh District, M.P The Sas-Bahu temple at Gwalior, really the Sas temple, its companion the Bahu temple having only a ground floor structure for its 'mandapa', is the next extant specimen of this type of temples I have already referred to the three angular projections, one solid and two open and pillared ones, gracing the juncture of the 'mandapa' with the porch. That this type of architectural element was not confined to storeyed 'mandapas' is clear from the ruined temple of Galtesvara near Anand, Gujarat (pls. 76, 77). The ruins of the Shejakpur temple from Gujarat, further north-west of Anand, and those of the temple at Kiradu in Jodhpur District, Rajasthan[11], too, bear testimony to the presence of three angular projections, all open-pillared, in temple-'mandapas' of ground floor structure. Fergusson has provided us with a particularly fine example of another from Malwa region in the reproduction of the ruined hall and porch of a temple at Amwa near Ajanta in Kotah[12]. It is almost a replica of Galtesvara (pls 76-7) with a very high plinth.

The biggest temple of mediaeval Gujarat, the one at Siddhapur in Mehsana District, was quite clearly one with a three-storeyed 'mandapa' (pl 44), while the smaller Navalakha temple at Ghumli in Jamnagar

[10] *Arch Surv Rep*, XXI, pp 95-7, *Arch. Survey Memoir* No 1.
[11] Percy Brown, *op cit*, I, pls LXXXVI and XC
[12] *Op. cit*, II, p 56

District (pl. 38) has only a two-storeyed 'mandapa'. The juncture of the sanctum-cella with the 'mandapa' is effected with the help of two angular projections of the open and pillared type.

The Dwarkadhisa temple of Dwarka, Gujarat (pl. 56) has a four-storeyed, or perhaps five-storeyed, 'mandapa'. The temple bears testimony to the common tendency for architectural and art features to claim eminence and prestige by duplication and multiplication but cannot be said to impress by its beauty.

Storeyed 'mandapa' is not met with in the Khajuraho group nor in the Malwa complex The type representative of these two varieties of the Rajput school of architecture went out of use after the 12th century. The only architectural resurgence that we know of was that by the Rajputs of Rajasthan as already made clear in an earlier chapter. And temples like the Kumbha-Shyama at Chitod and the Ekalingaji near Udaipur, both products of the resurgence, appear to have served as the archetypes for later temples in the country west of Patna and down to Nasik at least

Storeyed 'mandapa' is conspicuous by its absence in the Orissan temples They also lack the architectural beauty of structures having junctures of the various units, placed in the same axis as the sanctum-cella, concealed and bedecked by angular projections The Chalukyan and Hoysala temples, too, do not show a storeyed 'mandapa' among their many architectural elements and features, though their great halls, of some of them like that of the temple at Belur (pl. 82), have angular projections of majestic proportions and great beauty

Gateways, or 'toranas' to use the common Indian term of great antiquity, attached to sacred structures in India have been famous for long, through those connected with the great 'stupa' of Sanchi. Commenting on the Pai-lus or Pai-fangs of China, Fergusson[13] observes : "Their origin is as distinctly Indian as the other [storeyed pagodas], though, from their nature, being easily overthrown, but few examples can be found in a country that has so long ceased to be Buddhist. Fortunately, however, we still possess in the gateway of Sanchi the typical example of the whole class, and we find them afterwards represented in bas-reliefs and in frescoes in a manner to leave no doubt of the frequency of their application."

The Sanchi 'torana' or gateway was planned for a kind of architectural model very different from that of a Hindu temple of the Rajput school

[13] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 472 ; cf. P. Brown, II, pp 3.

of architecture The experience of structuring behind the architects, too, was limited The first torana-gateway of a Hindu temple that we are in a position to notice hails from the 7th or the 9th century A.D. according as one dates the Ghatesvara temple at Barolli. For the Barolli 'torana', and it is the arched decoration under the architecture of the front pillars of the small but beautiful 'mandapa' of the Ghatesvara temple which can just be seen under a magnifying glass in the picture (Frontispiece) of the temple, by its exquisite workmanship and even more so by the symbolism of the arch and that of the sculptural configuration capping it, announces itself to be the work of architects who had a developed technique and style as can be judged from the reproduction

The symbolism that I desire to emphasize is the one suggested by the animals, rather monsters, on the two sides, from whose wide open mouths the first sections of the arched structure, whether they are to be construed as mere geometrical scrolls or as floral wreaths, jut out. The monster appears to me to represent a crocodile with an elephantine snout thrown up arched as a support to the overhead frill of the torana-archway This monster is commonly known in Indian tradition as 'vyala' Crocodile, 'makara' proper, is the mount of the river-goddess Ganga since Gupta times.

Almost identical 'torana', described by H Cousens as "sculptured" architrave" from the temple of Aesvara at Sinnar in Nasik District, is reproduced in plate 88 It shows, besides appropriate modification of the sculptured panel, a change in the placement appropriate to it, it being a representation of Shiva in his cosmic 'tandava'-dance There is further a profuse floral efflorescence issuing from the posteriors of the 'vyalas'. monsters, curving up behind and enveloping the whole arched decoration in an 'ecstatic' abandon This kind of floral efflorescence is met with in the temples of Chalukyan workmanship in the Dharwar-Bijapur region as will be clear from three representations, one from the Dodda Basappa temple at Dambal, another from the Galagnatha temple at Aihole, and the third from the Siddharamesvara temple at Niralgi, in plates 87, 89, 92.

The type of cusps which constitute the total arched ornament on the architrave of the Dambal temple are seen employed in a free arched gateway position in the great temple of Kandariya Mahadeva of Khajuraho. The fine arched decoration is composed of longish and narrow horse-shoe type of cusps joined sideways The two lower-end cusps, which are rather wider, stand on the heads of two open-mouthed 'vyala'-monsters with flexible snouts The beautiful 'torana', giving us the second variety

of this architectural feature, can be clearly seen in pls. 35, 36.

The third variety of this arched feature, the one so much in evidence in the 'mandapa' of the famous Mt. Abu Jaina temple of white marble, is seen in the two arched gateways in the inside of the Sas-Bahu temple at Nagda (pl. 91). It can be seen that all the four components of this extraordinarily beautiful floral arch provided with a key stone, are cleverly made to issue out of monsters exactly like those of the previous variety.

The fourth variety of the arched gateway occurs in many Gujarat temples. It assumes the full form of a true cusped arch but used only as an ornamental piece and not as a structural element. Like the other arched gateway varieties this, too, issues at both ends out of the mouths of the 'vyala'-monsters. Two of these, one from the 'mandapa'-front of the great Sun-temple at Modhera, and the other from Vadnagar, a true gateway in so far as it must have stood at the enclosure gate of a temple, are reproduced in plates 83 and 86. They are hollow and cleverly perforated through and through and appear like filigree work of silver. The Modhera arched ornament has four cusps on each side of the central point. The Vadnagar one, having one more to serve as the central holding piece like the key-stone of a true arch, altogether has nine cusps. The architrave over this arched feature supports above it the representation of a shrine made up of five cusps appropriately shortened and broadened to produce the standard frame to accommodate the sculpture of the principal deity of the temple adequately provided with the standard paraphernalia. The end-cusps of the frame issue out of the mouths of 'vyala'-monsters. Besides, at the ends of the architrave on the two sides of the shrine-representation, 'vyalas' jut out with their faces turned out and away from the shrine-representation. Altogether there are six 'vyalas' in this highly complex yet beautifully proportioned and exquisitely ornamented masterpiece of an arched gateway!

There are a number of 'toranas' in Madhya Pradesh from Rewah in the north-east to Bijolia in the south-west mentioned and even described by M. B. Garde[14], and Fergusson[15]. The Rewah 'torana', most intricately carved and very finely sculptured bears the cusped ornament without turning it into an arch between two architraves. It is figured in Sir Lepel Griffin's book *Famous Monuments*, from which I have reproduced one side of the gateway (pl. 94), and also in Percy Brown's book *Indian Architecture* I, plate LXXXVIIA (2). It can be seen from these pictures

[14] *Archaeology in Gwalior*, pp. 55-58, 99-100, 128-29

[15] *Op. cit.*, II, p 54 (293), 137, 54-5.

that the cusps, much rounded out of their horse-shoe shape, are only four and the two end-ones stand on the hind parts of two 'vyala' monsters. The Aihole gateway already mentioned is similarly formed by four cusps of almost identical shape. They are, however, only carved out on the architrave, and the end-cusps issue out of the mouths of 'vyala' monsters.

Still another 'torana', more developed one, with additions above the architrave and a two-sectioned arch under without the 'vyala'-motif, is that from Terahi (pl. 90) which is five miles north-east of Kadwaha, eight miles south-east of Ranod and about 25 miles north of Chanderi. It is believed to have been the gateway evidently at the enclosure of an 11th century temple.

The passion of the Rajput architects for 'toranas' is most emphatically brought home to all students by a small temple in ruins near the village Khor, which is about 45 miles north of the famous mediaeval town of Mandasor, which is locally known as Nav Toran. The most striking feature of the ruins is that there are ten decorative 'toranas' or arches, "arranged into two rows, one lengthwise and the other widthwise, crossing at the centre" Six of them run widthwise, north to south, and four lengthwise east to west. M. B Garde[16], to whom we owe our knowledge of this curious piece of architecture, thus describes it: "Each *torana* is set on two projections in the sides of pillars shaped like the heads of *makaras* with opened mouths from which the arch appears to spring up" Their decoration consists of "two leaf-shaped borders and a third or central ornament consisting of figurines of garland bearers The *makara* heads rest on conventional rampant lions carved out of the shafts of the pillars".

One development of the Rajput gateway, represented very tantalizingly by only one specimen, and that too a pre-fourteenth century one, is of special interest. I refer to the portion of the gateway still standing on the edge of the platform of the Sas-Bahu 'mandir' at Nagda near Udaipur. My old pupil Dr. Dhanbai K. Mistry, then teaching Sociology in the Agricultural University at Udaipur, kindly supplied me with a photograph of the portion of the ruins containing this superb monument, on December 2, 1966. The tripartite disposition of the four beautiful pillars, in the phraseology of students of world architecture, of 'classical simplicity', with the Rajput arch in the central partition raising over its head the third architrave, makes not only a dignified composition but also a unique one and shows off to advantage even the ruins of this small gem of a temple of the Rajput school of architecture in plate

[16] *Op. cit.*, pp 99-100

The 'torana', whether arched or elaborate straight architrave with greater refinement such as decoration with miniature shrines or in other ways, is seen to recur at the front doors of the temple-mandapas as in that of Kumbha-Shyama at Chitod (pl. 49), or the Jagatsiromani temple at Jaipur (pl. 55). Well may we then describe the 'torana'-archway as a distinguishing characteristic of the Rajput school of sacred architecture.

Turning our attention to the Chalukya-Hoysala architecture of Dharwar-Mysore region we see that though sometimes the 'torana' in that school conforms to the cusped pattern, not only is it rarely in the arched form but also that by far the more common gateway decoration, though an extremely beautiful and intricate carving, is quite different, the straight architrave being its firm basis.

As for the Orissan school, the in-some-ways unique archway standing at the front on the platform of the Muktesvara temple (pl. 93) has been highly eulogised by Percy Brown[17]. Though I cannot subscribe to its valuation as an entrance gateway in relation to a temple of the size of the Muktesvara temple, I shall not enter into any fresh valuation. I shall only point out that it is the only one that has been referred to by any writer on the Orissan temples. And the only other gateway I have seen in any of the photographs of these temples is that standing in front of a subsidiary temple within the enclosure of the Lingaraja temple[18]. And that is all Need I emphasize the utter poverty of this architectural feature in the repertory of Orissan architects?

Another fact connected with this feature is the almost invariable association of the 'vyala' or the 'makara' monster as the supporter of the arched element of a 'torana' in the temples of the Rajput school, at least till the 16th century. The same type of monster was associated with the 'toranas' of the Chalukyan temples, and I have to draw the reader's attention to the fact that a whole frieze of these monsters forms a decorative detail of the high and grand plinths of the great Hoysala temples. It can be seen clearly to advantage under a magnifying glass in the reproduction of the magnificently majestic front portion of the Kesava temple at Belur in plate 82 and of the 'vimana' of the Kesava temple at Somanathpur in plate 85. Its presence on the bigger and greater Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid can be seen in the reproduction in Fergusson's book (I, p. 447). Percy Brown's book (I, Pls. CVIII, CIX and p. 119) supplies evidence both for this temple and that of Somanathpur In the Orissan

[17] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 121.
[18] Fergusson, II, p 100 (315)

temple except for the two 'makara' heads jutting on the two sides of the arch as its ends, there is no evidence of this animal, much less that of its use in the particular device. The Rajput school of architecture therefore must be considered to represent a development of a particular and in its totality a distinct tradition.

The catalogue of the characteristics of the Rajput school of architecture may now be completed by taking up the thread of the development of the ornamentation of the 'sikhara' from where we left it in describing the Lakshmana temple of Khajuraho. It is at Khajuraho in the great complex of the temples, built by the Chandelas during about two centuries or a little more, that, in the latest member of the group, the Kandariya Mahadeva temple (pls 34-36), we meet with the culmination of the method of ornamenting the 'sikhara' by means of the superimposition of one, two, three or four 'sikharas' The Kandariya Mahadeva temple has four superimposed 'sikharas' over the central surface of the three free sides, giving us a total of twelve superimposed 'sikharas' Such a 'sikhara' may be called a 'half-sikhara' as one full side and two half sides are shown. At the front we can see that there is only one superimposed 'sikhara'. The total of the superimposed 'sikharas' is thus thirteen.

Associated with this multiplicity of superimposed 'sikharas' and fulfilling their role and purpose in an organic way are the 'sikharas' that rear themselves by their sides, which may be described as quarter 'sikharas' because only about one-quarter of a whole 'sikhara' is shown and can be seen. In this particular case only two of the four superimpositions have these and on both sides, giving us a total of four quarter-'sikharas' on each of the free sides of the main 'sikhara'. On the front with only one superimposition we have only two of these. Thus the total number of these 'quarter-sikharas' comes to fourteen. On the three free sides which carry two of these, the lower ones, are so positioned that they form the basal support and ornament of the corners of the superimposed 'sikhara' which is the third one from the balcony roof. And it appears to have been one of the architectural tradition-complex of the architects of these temples that the corners, not only of the main 'sikhara'-tower but also of all the centrally as well as sideways superimposed 'sikharas', shall be ornamented more or less similarly.

We find, in this noble specimen of the Rajput school of architecture, that its architect at least has acted on the assumption of having to cover up the corners with basal and other ornamentational 'sikharas'. The corner of the main 'sikhara' begins, so to say, with a row of three

miniature 'sikharas' placed one on the top of another. On its top comes a niche-shrine; it is more realistic than the niche-shrine appearing on the central superimposition of the 'sikhara' of the Vishwanatha temple (pl. 30). Thereafter the corner is a row or chain of highly stylized 'sikharas' of which I can count twelve, longitudinally placed. To count only the 'sikharas' we have on the four corners together twelve of them. The corner of the superimposed 'sikhara' which is the biggest and the first from the surface of the 'sikhara' facet, shows at its base two miniature 'sikharas' placed one on the top of another, with a niche-shrine on its head before the formal ornamentation begins, which is carried to the top but whose constituents cannot be specified. The six corners of the three superimpositions on the three free sides of the main 'sikhara' give altogether twelve miniature 'sikharas'. Thus we have altogether 24 miniature 'sikharas' forming a part of the total ornamentation of the main 'sikhara'. But this does not exhaust the number of 'sikharas' used in the ornamentation of the superb structure, the glory of glories, the main 'sikhara' Between the two sets of miniature 'sikharas', those at the base of the corner of the main 'sikhara' and those at the base of the corner of the first superimposition, peeps out the crown of what must be declared to be a 'one-eighth' or 'one-sixteenth' 'sikhara', decorating the base of the corner of the side superimposition of the furthest superimposed 'sikhara'. These 'one-sixteenth' or 'one-eighth' 'sikharas' thus number at least six.

The total number of 'sikharas' employed in the ornamental, and perhaps also structural, build of the grand 'sikhara' of this noble sacred edifice is thus: 13 superimposed 'sikharas', which carry on their sides another 14 partial 'sikharas'; the corners of the main 'sikhara' and of the superimposed ones have at their bases a total of 24 miniature 'sikharas'. Besides these 51 'sikharas' and their jutting-up crowns, there are at least sixteen niche-shrines with their appropriately slender crowns. Towering above all, and as if presiding over them, rises the large majestic top crown of the main 'sikhara' itself.

It is noteworthy that none of the well-known temples whose representations are available in print, including those that I have procured and reproduced here, has in such bold dimensional outlines so many, i.e. four, ornamental, or as we may call them filial, superimposed 'sikharas' on the free sides of the main 'sikhara' tower. The Shamlaji temple,[19] dated three and a half centuries later, from Idar in political Gujarat, has

[19] U. P. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 35.

on its 'sikhara' facets much more boldly and outstandingly executed 'sikharas' as their superimpositions, harmonizing with the biggish and portly outlines of the miniature 'sikharas' and the appropriately larger main 'sikhara'-tower But there are only three of them on each facet (pl. 53) and not four as in the case of Kandariya Mahadeva temple of Khajuraho.

It may be mentioned here, before pointing out a further development in the matter of the miniature 'sikharas' at the bases of the corners of the main 'sikhara'-tower and its superimposed 'sikharas', that the territory in which this temple happens to be is locally known as 'Nani Marwad', or 'younger Marwad', reminding one of the derivation of the royal house of the territory from that of the Jodhpur Rajput royalty[20]

The development that I wish to draw my reader's attention to is the triadic disposition of the miniature 'sikharas', both longitudinally, and latitudinally, and the superimposition of an ornamental 'sikhara' on each of the two sides of the bigger three of the seven miniature 'sikharas' in two out of the three latitudinal rows Thus the Shamlaji temple 'sikhara' has 20 biggish superimposed 'sikharas' plus 84 miniature 'sikharas' in rows, decorating the main 'sikhara'-tower and so to say raising it majestically out of themselves. Of the miniature 'sikharas' 24 are themselves adorned with two superimposed 'sikharas' on two sides of each, thus giving us 48 'sikharas' for secondary ornamentation. Truly one sees a riot of clustered 'sikharas' on the top of a wonderful variety of very beautiful though bold mouldings, of which one can count almost a dozen in the portion of the 'sikhara' one has the privilege of being able to examine in plate 53.

The Tryambakesvara temple at Nasik (pl. 59) appears to be a unique specimen as far at least as the 'sikhara' is concerned. In addition to four superimposed standard 'sikharas', fairly well and boldly represented, the 'sikhara' of this temple carries, on each side, two further impositions, one with regular crown and the other with the crowning symbol One of them, the fifth from the surface of the facet of the main 'sikhara', is quite clearly a variation of the standard representation of a 'sikhara'. The other, however, is a whole shrine, a niche-shrine with the double-propped niche projecting well out of the total surface Thus the 'sikhara' of the Tryambakesvara temple has five superimposed 'sikharas' over each facet of its main 'sikhara'-tower. There are also side superimpositions, which appear more like slender columns than 'sikharas', for three of the primary superimpositions. There are at least 76 miniature 'sikharas' at the base

[20] U P. Shah, *op cit*, pp 1, 35

of the 'sikhara', 19 of them rising in three tiers between two consecutive sides with 16 additional 'one-eighth' sikhara representations in between them.

The syncretic edifice of the Roopjee Mandir at Charbujhar (pl. 54) near Udaipur has more or less similar clustering of 'sikharas'. The clustering of superimposed 'sikharas' frontal and sideways, in the Sundara Narayana temple of Nasik too is almost the same (pl 58) Only in the matter of the basal miniature 'sikharas' it shows a difference having a much smaller number of them.

The ornamentation of the corners of the 'sikhara' of the Sundara Narayana and the Tryambakesvara temples at Nasik, and of the Roopjee Mandira at Charbujhar and the Jagadish Mandira at Udaipur may be noted as slightly differing from the older specimens of the Rajput school of architecture It appears to me to be a longitudinal string or row of highly stylized standard crowns of a temple. Its earliest appearance, as far as I have been able to get evidence of, occurs in the famous temple of Ekalingaji (pl. 52) where it forms a flank-framing for the corners of the 'sikhara', the corner itself being a longitudinal row of miniature 'sikharas'. Both these devices in the Ekalingaji temple and the stylized crown device of the corner in the other four temples named above have the individual units of the longitudinal rows placed under a neat canopy.

This standardized corner-design it is that is seen in the Visvesvara temple of Varanasi (Banaras) illustrated by Fergusson (II, p 152) and in the ordinary town or village temple of Rajasthan which is pictured in plate 60, from the illustration in Archibald Adam's book *The Western Rajputana States*.

Before proceeding to the utterly different disposition of the 'sikhara' multiplication motif seen in the Malwa or the Paramara variety of the Rajput school, I would like to draw my readers' attention to a not so different disposition seen in some of the mediaeval temples of Gujarat, which appears to be a pattern quite elegant and fitting for small temples with a rather dwarfish 'sikhara'. I shall describe the arrangement as it is seen on the Nilakanthesvara temple at Sunak in Mehsana District which happens to be an almost unique specimen to have escaped the rage of both time and the vandal As can be seen from the illustration in plate 45, there are three superimposed 'sikharas' on each side, almost as portly and equally well executed. There are two more or less similar side impositions to the first and the biggest of the centrally superimposed 'sikhara'. The miniature 'sikharas' at the base are three in a latitudinal

row with two 'quarter' or 'one-eighth' 'sikharas' peeping out between them. The centrally located miniature, which is at the base of the corner of the main 'sikhara', bears on its top another similar 'sikhara', which, with the side superimpositions already mentioned, makes a triadic pattern. On its two sides, above the tops of the two basal miniatures, too, there are representatives of a differently stylized shrine or shrine-top making a very pleasing combination. At the bottoms of the corners of the four miniature 'sikharas' one can very clearly distinguish under a magnifying glass a neatly executed tiny 'sikhara' Altogether the rather stocky 'sikhara' of the temple appears to have just managed to arise out of a well-laid out cluster of similar structures of five or six different sizes, itself being of the biggest In the Nilakantha Mahadeva temple at Ruhavi in the same District the scheme of the basal miniatures does not harmonize with the triadic arrangement (pl. 47)

In the far South at least one specimen of the 'sikhara'-clustered 'sikhara', as we may designate the developed type of the Rajput school of architecture as exemplified in the Khajuraho complex, is known from the Dharwar-Bijapur area, where we encountered the earliest dated specimens identical with the originals of the temples of the Rajput school of architecture. It is the Ganapati temple at Hangal near Dharwar reproduced in plate 61 from Cousen's book entitled *Chalukyan Architecture* (pl. LXXXVII).

The temples of the Malwa complex do not carry any superimposed 'sikharas' on their conical-looking 'sikhara' towers. The central bands on their three free sides as also the one on the front side are rather slender or narrow and bear the chaitya-window ornamentation so finely executed as to look almost like delicate tracery work as it does on the 'sikhara' of the temple at Udayapur (pl. 62) With slender central bands the spaces between the two consecutive bands are too wide to be designated as corners However, they can be perceived to be the equivalents of the wide corners of the earlier temples of the Jodhpur-Chitod complex straightened out. Whether we may or may not call these spaces corners, they are not vacant but carry an ornamental device which in symbolic language must be construed to express the same tradition as the one that spoke in terms of the centrally superimposed 'sikharas', aided by others in side-ways disposition in combination with the triadic tripple-tiers of the miniature 'sikharas'. In the case of the temples of the Malwa complex the superimposed 'sikharas' are dispensed with, and very logically, as they could not possibly be executed properly as will be clear from our

remarks on the one experiment I have in my collection of temple-photographs reproduced in plate 78.

The wide spaces between two consecutive bands of the 'sikhara' of the majestic edifice of the Udayesvara temple is filled in with five longitudinal—I say filled in because the space actually lies depressed and lower than the level of the bands—rows of representations of a shrine, one on the top of another The representation is quite clearly that of a shrine and not merely of a 'sikhara'. Every one of the seven units forming one longitudinal row is made up of a pilaster-pillar carrying on its head a 'sikhara'. Fergusson correctly counted the total number of these units as 35 in one such space but his enumeration refers only to the two spaces that one sees at the backside of the temple in plate 63. In the two analogous spaces at the front I can count only 24 of them in each, giving us a total of 48. The four spaces lying between the four bands contain therefore only 118 of these units, i.e, stylized shrines.

The 'sikhara' of the Siddhesvara temple in Dewas District, M.P., (pls 65, 66) too, has five longitudinal rows of similar units disposed in identical fashion but the number of units in each row is nine and not seven as in the case of the Udayesvara temple at Udayapur. The total number of these units in the whole 'sikhara' of the Siddhesvara temple comes to not less than 150 The 'sikhara' of this temple presents a rather ungainly elongated shape.

In both the above temples, in small interstices between the 'sikharas' in the longitudinal rows there peep out, if a magnifying glass is used, into the observer's sight fragments like 'one-eighth' or so 'sikharas' filling in the gaps.

The 'sikhara' of the Mahanal temple at Menal in Chitod District (pl. 67) has only three rows in each space with only five units to a row, so that the whole 'sikhara' contains only 60 of these shrine representational units.

The Siva temple at Ramgarh in Kotah District (pl. 68), even in its ruined condition, pronounces itself to have been a more beautiful structure than even the Udayesvara temple at Udayapur, as the slender pillars of its fine 'mandapa' proclaim, the 'mandapa' itself being a structure with proportionately jutting out balconies. With two-pillared open angular projections covering up the space between the side balcony of the 'mandapa' and the 'antarala', the whole structure looks a finely proportioned composition. Its 'sikhara' accommodates five longitudinal rows of these units, the total number of them in each row being undeterminable in its present

state. The temple deserves special mention, in spite of this, because it shows under a magnifying glass the existence of fine figure-sculpture in the interstices between the pilaster-pillars of the shrine-units in addition to the fragment like 'sikharas' in the gaps between the 'sikharas' of these shrine units.

The majestic ruins of the Nilakanthesvara temple at Un in Nimar District, M.P. (pl 69) are sufficient only to indicate that its 'sikhara' carried five longitudinal rows of the units of the same kind as those on the Udayesvara, Siddhesvara and other temples of the Malwa complex, but also to supply a unique specimen of the variety which, because of the absence of any projecting chajja-type eaves or pronouncedly bold mouldings at the top end of the sanctum-cella, has all its longitudinal rows beginning from the very plinth-top Even the slender pilasters, bearing on their heads the 'one-eighth' 'sikhara', filling in the gaps between the larger ones of the longitudinal rows, are clearly seen as resting by the side of the larger pilasters on their basal mouldings

The temple at Kanorabari in Damoh District, a rather plain and poor specimen of the Malwa complex, has its 'sikhara' managed with only three longitudinal rows of the shrine-units, five of them, one on the head of another, making up one row (pl. 72).

In Maharashtra, both the Ambarnatha temple in Thana District [Fergusson, II, pl XXVI and P. Brown, I, pl. XCV (1)] and the Sinnar temple in Nasik District (pl 71) have five longitudinal rows of identical units between two consecutive facet-bands In the latter specimen, each row is formed by seven units and the gaps between the 'sikharas' do not appear to have been well-dressed up as 'one-eighth' 'sikharas'. In the Mankesvara temple at Jhogda in the same District illustrated in plate XCV (2) in Percy Brown's book (I, p 146) the longitudinal rows of shrine-units are only three but the group is flanked by one row on each side made up of highly stylized shrine-presentations, reminiscent of, nay almost identical with, the corner band of some of the temples of the Khajuraho complex. The 'sikhara' of the Amritesvara temple at Singhanapur in Satara District (pl 75), a rather ungainly edifice, has five such rows in the space between two consecutive facet-bands; but the shapes and sizes both of the pilasters and of the shrine-units, which are formalized out of recognition and made to look like blocks, are so managed as to distinguish the corner very clearly. A row in the Jhogda specimen is formed by seven units but in the Singhanapur one by nine of them.

The Amritesvara temple at Ratanvadi in Ahmednagar District

(pl. 73) which reflects South Indian Influence in its substructure, in the solidity of the sanctum-cella and of the almost entirely closed hall, has only three longitudinal rows of shrine-units, in the spaces between the two consecutive central bands of standard type. Each longitudinal row is composed of only five shrine units. There is a special variation in the frontage of the 'sikhara' rising above the level of the roof of the 'mandapa' which emphasizes the clustering of basal 'sikharas' and of shrine-units. There are two superimposed 'sikharas' on two sides of the frontal device, one of which faces the observer. There are at least four, and may be five, shrine-units forming the base of this front device. And I am not sure that similar shrine-units did not adorn the sides of the roof of the 'mandapa' Altogether the super-structure of the temple presents a shrine-unit configuration and assemblage of a distinctive nature.

At Pillarmari in Mehabubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh, we have, so far, the furthest specimen of the Malwa complex of temples, in its Somesvara temple reproduced in plate 74 from plate IV in the *Report of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, for 1926-27*. The 'sikhara' has three longitudinal rows of shrine-units, the number of which in one row appears to be also three.

The Galtesvara temple near Anand in Gujarat (pls. 76 and 77) whose 'mandapa', roundish in shape, is intact, but whose intriguingly unique sanctum appears to have its 'sikhara' cleanly capitated, fortunately has enough left to give us an idea of its rotundity. Quite clearly it had six bands and a frontal wider one Each band must have carried, above the enshrined image of the deity, the triangular chaitya-window patterned ornament in triplicate with the single modified highly ornamented large chaitya-window on its top encompassing some image. Between two consecutive bands there are two longitudinal rows of shrine-units, whose three-banded, chaitya-window ornamented 'sikharas' are boldly executed. In the ruined state of the temple it is not possible even to guess the number of the shrine-units that formed a longitudinal row.

There are at least three temples which have incorporated in their 'sikharas' the devices of both varieties of the Rajput school of architecture, those of the Khajuraho-complex and those of the Malwa complex. They have the superimposed 'sikharas' on the central bands, which are therefore rather broad, and also the longitudinal rows of shrine-units in the spaces between two consecutive central bands.

The Adbhutanathaji temple at Chitod, pictured in plate LXVII in

Archaeology in India, 1956-57, is the first of these three, as it is believed to date from the 12th or the 13th century. The number of the longitudinal rows is three. The central bands stand out well as each is formed of three projections, the uppermost of which is bedecked with a 'sikhara' of similar pattern as that of the main 'sikhara'-tower. The Dwarkadhisa temple at Dwarka in Gujarat (pl. 56) too has both these devices on its 'sikhara'; and in addition its 'mandapa', which is four or five-storeyed, is a development of the design of the Sas-Bahu temple of Gwalior. The third specimen is the great conglomerate temple of the Sun at Jhalawar (pl. 78). Though its individual elements, the pillars, the domes, the 'howdah'-type kiosks, with curved cornices as also the pillared ones of the usual type, the small sculptured figures, and even the portly larger portraits of ascetics sitting dignifiedly, are individually good and neatly done, the total presents a jumbled picture The three flat superimposed 'sikharas' are ungainly; but the five longitudinal rows, three of larger ones, with two smaller and thinner ones in between, of shrine-units, are exquisitely executed The slender crowning devices of these shrine units can be seen on most of them, the ones at the top of the rows being particularly pleasing To harmonize with the tapering tops of the central bands rising above the capstone, the three angular projections of the capstone, over the three bigger rows and on the two recessed angles between, carry fine tapering crowning devices which are appropriately varied in their sizes There appear to be only five shrine-units which form a longitudinal row in this specimen

Turning from these temples to the temples of the Chalukyan-Hoysala complex of Dharwar-Mysore region one perceives a difference of form and shape but not one of spirit and tradition. The great temples of the Chalukyan-Hoysala complex, too, have their sanctum roofs and tops formed of the replicas of themselves, which are appropriately small in size and are suitably assembled to create the designed form and shape, as can be realized from the Kesava temple of Somanathpur reproduced in pl. 85. How close in shape and general appearance the Hoysala temple or 'sikharas' come to those of the Rajput school described above can perhaps be better appreciated by a look at the miniature shrines at the entrance of the Kesava temple at Belur in plate 82 and at the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid reproduced by Fergusson (I, p. 445, fig. 262).

The Orissan temples, and here I have in view all the temples big or small which are fairly intact with the exception of the exotic Raja-Rani, on the other hand, even when they show miniature 'sikharas' on

their main 'sikhara'-towers make it quite clear, by their disposition, both in number and place, as well as by their size, that they are employed as a decorative element, perhaps also intended to emphasize the sacred nature of the edifice.

The earliest temple, that of Parasuramesvara (pl. 109) does not carry any miniature or other type of 'sikhara' on its 'sikhara' and thus agrees with the earliest of temples hailing from the Rajput and the Dharwar-Bijapur regions.

There are a number of temples, about eight or ten, which stand within the enclosure of the great temples of later times, 10th to the 12th century, revealed to view in the photographs, so obligingly provided by R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 332, 356, 364, 368, 372, which, with the exception of one (p 372), have no ornamental or miniature 'sikhara' anywhere to be seen. Indeed as already mentioned most of them do not show even the chaitya-window motif as an ornamental device on the surfaces of their 'sikharas'. The beautiful Muktesvara is highly but exquisitely ornamented all the way up the 'sikhara' in a manner not again met with in the Orissan complex of temples, nor even, I think, in any other stone temple of that size anywhere in India; but there is no trace of any 'sikhara' representation on its 'sikhara' (pl. 107).

The contrast presented by the Siddhesvara temple standing near it can be felt. The 'sikhara' has quite definitely one superimposed 'sikhara' over each of the sides of the main 'sikhara', just above the niche-projection and hence rather low. It shows almost quite clearly under a magnifying glass two longitudinal rows of stylized 'sikharas' flanking either the central bands or the corners This temple is ascribed to a period about two centuries later than the Muktesvara.

The great glory of Orissan architecture, among the more or less intact temples that have been studied, the Lingaraja, of significant name, is commonly considered to be only about twenty-five years later than the Muktesvara. It is the first temple among the intact ones which shows the use of the 'sikhara' for purposes of ornamentation of the main 'sikhara'. And intriguingly enough the 'sikhara' motif is used both in the miniature form and in the superimposed pattern. The two plates 102 and 103 in this book reproducing the grand edifice do not present the front view of the main 'sikhara'; and the superimposed 'sikhara' for ornamentation, which is confined in this specimen of Orissan architecture in its finished and refined form to the front of the main 'sikhara', is not visible. R. D. Banerji's nice reproduction, at page 356 of the second

volume of his book *History of Orissa*, shows the nearly 'three quarters'-sikhara-superimposition. It is seen that its crown stands just a little higher than those of the first of the elements of the two longitudinal rows of miniature 'sikharas' flanking the two sides of the central band. There are eight of these longitudinal rows of miniature 'sikharas' on the main 'sikhara', each row being formed of four such miniatures, one on the top of another. The lowest or the first of the series of these four of a longitudinal row is the biggest, the height and size of the others progressively diminishing, so that the fourth or the topmost one is very very small, almost stylized. Thus there are sixteen miniature 'sikharas' and one super-imposed 'three-quarters sikhara' in the ornamentation of this grand temple-tower

The size, disposition and number of the 'sikharas' used in the total make-up of the main 'sikhara' of the Lingaraja temple can lead one to the conclusion that the 'sikhara' is used in this architectural practice and tradition not to implement the notion that the 'sikhara' of the temple is a growth or an outgrowth of a cluster of similar units, of such various degrees of fullness and size as to lead the observer to look upon the whole as a clustered configuration of 'sikharas'

The Parvati-temple, within the enclosure of the grand Lingaraja as reproduced in Banerji's abovementioned book (p 372), has its 'sikhara' decorated with longitudinal bands, two flanking each corner-band, of highly stylized 'sikharas' but no superimposed or miniature 'sikhara' at all. However, there is beyond the frontal end of the Parvati temple one temple which carries at least one, rather portly, superimposed 'sikhara', evidently on the frontal facet of its 'sikhara'-tower and that, too, reaching rather extremely high up almost to the coping stone below the neck. The Ananta-Vasudeva temple, well-reproduced at page 364 of Banerji's abovementioned book has the longitudinal bands of miniature 'sikharas', exactly like those of the great Lingaraja, with this minor difference that the number of the 'sikharas' forming one longitudinal band in its case is only three. And there is nowhere any trace of a superimposed 'sikhara'. The 'sikhara' of the famous temple of Jagannatha at Puri (Banerji's book, page 381) resembles that of the Lingaraja but the 'sikharas' forming a longitudinal row are more flattish It has no superimposed 'sikhara' anywhere.

The Brahmesvara temple, reproduced by R. D. Banerji[21] has one superimposed 'sikhara' on central band of each facet of its 'sikhara'-tower.

[21] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp 208, 368

The two bands on the two flanks of a central band begin with a miniature-'sikhara' as its base and each corner-band carries at its base two similar 'sikharas', one on each side. Thus the total number of miniature 'sikharas' employed in the ornamentation of the 'sikhara' of the Brahmesvara temple is exactly half that of the 'sikharas' seen in the longitudinal bands of the Lingaraja-'sikhara'. The four superimposed 'sikharas' instead of the frontal one of the Lingaraja are not the only distinction in ornamentation that this temple, dated between the Lingaraja and the Jagannatha, has. It appears to me from the reproduction of the edifice at page 368 of Banerji's book that two miniature 'sikharas' are placed at the base of the superimposed 'sikhara' on the front facet.

The justly famous, famous for its sculptures and also for the plan and elevation of its sanctum and its 'sikhara', Raja-Rani temple is the only religious edifice, at least among those that have come down to us intact, in the Orissan complex that shows the 'sikhara' ornament motif employed in the manner of the later of the temples of the Khajuraho complex. The 'sikhara' of his edifice (pls. 102 and 103), which to my mind is the noblest specimen, I mean the sanctum with its 'sikhara', among the intact temples of Orissa, making allowance for the partially finished exterior, is bedecked with no less than eight centrally superimposed 'sikharas', each facet having two, one smaller over another bigger. In harmony with the bulging shape of the main 'sikhara'-tower the crown of the bigger superimposition rises fairly high up on the central band. Like the later Khajuraho specimens and most of the greater temple of later times executed in the tradition of the Rajput school of architecture each of the bigger superimpositions has a 'quarter' or rather 'half-sikhara' on each of its two sides. The two corner-bands of the superimposed 'sikhara' have at their bases one miniature 'sikhara'. Thus, each side of the main 'sikhara' has two 'superimposed', two 'side'- and two 'corner'- but miniature 'sikharas'. Besides, the four corner-bands of the main 'sikhara' have a biggish miniature 'sikhara' at the base of each. Altogether this noble edifice has sixteen superimposed 'sikharas', central or side-ones of three different sizes, and twelve miniature 'sikharas', four of which at the corner bases are bigger than the remaining eight miniatures but smaller than the eight side-'sikharas' of the four principal superimpositions on the central bands !

And the significant fact of the story of Orissan temple architecture is that the stupendously grand Sun temple at Konarak, which came almost a generation after this and proved to be the last of the breed of purely

Orissan temples, was conceived in the older, the more indigenous style of Orissan architecture. For, as R. D. Banerji[22] informs us, after the end of the thirteenth century Orissan temple architecture went on the pattern of the later Bengali style. The Raja-Rani temple thus proved itself to be an exotic, leaving that style of sacred edifice to be cultivated by the Rajput tradition wherein alone it had originated more than two centuries before the construction of the Raja-Rani temple!

[22] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p 383.

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